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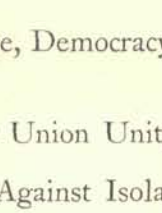
The COMMUNIST

MARCH



THE 1938 ELECTIONS AND OUR TASKS

BY CLARENCE A. HATHAWAY

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The Struggle for Trade Union Unity — ROY HUDSON

For Concerted Action—Against Isolation and War! — FRED BROWN

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Menacing Signs of New World War and of Fascist Intervention Against Soviet Union. Chamberlain's Tricks and Hitler's Advances. American Isolationism Works for Chamberlain. Anglo-American Imperialist Contradictions May Become Sharper. Rising Resentment of British People. A New Opportunity in Fight for Collective Security. Working Class of All Countries Must Step Forward. Stalin's Letter. International Proletarian Solidarity Is the Key. Whom Is Woll Speaking For? A Decisive Turn in World Affairs Is Approaching. Coming Meeting of Amsterdam International. Red Baiting 1938 Style. Browder and Foster Make an Answer on Communism and Democracy. We Are Building the Democratic Front. The Party Builders Congress Is an Historic Gathering. Lessons and Conclusions. There Is a New Book by Earl Browder.

THE menace of a new world war and of fascist intervention against the Soviet Union has greatly increased in recent weeks and days. The Hitlerization of Austria has begun although the process is still in its initial stages. Connected with this is the closer approach of a fascist attack upon Czechoslovakia. World peace is trembling in the balance. The reason for these immediate developments is not hard to see.

It is the inevitable working out of the criminal policy of capitulation to fascism, represented so "classically" by the pro-fascist clique in British imperialism and by similar cliques in all capitalist countries. This is on the one hand. On the other, it is the lack of sufficient working class unity, the absence of concerted international action by the working class of all countries for the curbing of the fascist aggressors, for mutual protection against the fascist aggressors.

Comrade Stalin's letter to the young Russian Communist Ivanov (*Daily Worker,* February 17), takes note of both of these and offers a practical way out.

At the bottom of the more rapid "deterioration" of the world situation in recent weeks (an overworked diplomatic figure of speech), lies no doubt the threatening outbreak of a new economic crisis in the countries of fascism as well as in a few other capitalist countries, among them England. The developing economic crisis in the United States, hastened and aggravated by the reactionary monopolies, is having its effect upon world capitalist economy. This inevitably sharpens all imperialist contradictions and rivalries. And, as usual, when imperialist rivalries become especially acute, when in consequence the ruling imperialist cliques find themselves in a particularly tight corner, the temptation to try to settle the difficulties at

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the expense of the Soviet Union, at the expense of the smaller nations and colonial peoples, this temptation becomes especially alluring to certain groups of reactionary finance capital.

Neville Chamberlain is being "tempted" very hard. And so are his reactionary counterparts in every capitalist country in the world. The abandonment of Austria to Hitler by the bourgeois democracies under the pressure of the British pro-fascist ruling clique, the current preparations of a similar abandonment of Czechoslovakia and the crowning treachery of a contemplated so-called "four-power pact" between England, France, Germany and Italy—all these are the rotten fruits of the policy of capitulation to the fascist aggressors. It is the logical outcome of Neville Chamberlainism and Hearstism. It is the war answer of pro-fascist capitalist reaction to the threatening extension of the economic crisis and the consequent sharpening of imperialist rivalries and contradictions.

The answer of these pro-fascist cliques in the bourgeois-democratic countries (the Chamberlains, the Hearsts, the Fishes) is this: let Hitler, Mussolini and Japan continue their wars upon China, Spain; let them destroy Austria and Czechoslovakia; let them initiate intervention against the Soviet Union. Maybe this will save us. Maybe.

And then, maybe not. Most certainly, not. Is it still necessary to prove that these "tricks" of the Chamberlains, dictated by a policy of capitulation to fascism, mean the hastening of a new *world* war? Let our own isolationists and "absolute" pacifists think of that while there is still time to do something about it. Let them look facts straight in the face, if they dare, and what they will see, if they are not totally blind, is that the policy of capitulation to fascism paves the way for a fascist hegemony in Europe (France is being shoved to the background and its national independence seriously threatened); that this policy of capitulation to fascism, practised by Chamberlain in England and known in this country as isolation and neutrality, is paving the way to fascist domination of Latin America; that this same policy encourages and hastens fascist intervention against the Soviet Union—the strongest and most consistent force for peace and democracy in the world; that, finally, this same policy emboldens and strengthens the offensive of the reactionary and pro-fascist forces in this country.

All this they *must* see, if they can see anything at all. Then, what is it that remains of the isolation and neutrality illusions? Blindness and cowardice—that is all that we can discover. And no amount of nice-sounding phrases can hide this fact. Comrade Browder has made that amply clear in his debate with Charles Beard (*New Republic,* Feb. 2, 1938).

But there is something else, and somewhat new, being indicated as a result of the Chamberlain tricks and the isolation pressure in the United States. It is this: *the imperialist contradictions between America and England, which of late, under pressure of fascist aggression, have tended to soften down and to assume less antagonistic forms (though the basis of these contradiction remains)—that these imperialist contradictions between America and England will*

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again flare up and become most acute if the Chamberlain tricks in England and the isolationist pressure in the United States should take the upper hand.

In plain language: Chamberlain in England and the isolationists in America (the latter being exploited and in part directed by the pro-fascist circles of American finance capital) are literally feeding the flames of Anglo-American antagonism, are worsening the relations between the two countries, are preparing the basis *for imperialist war* between England and America, for a new world war.

That is far-fetched, some may say smilingly. But is it, though?

What is the logic, the political consequence, of the Chamberlain policies in England and of the "isolationist" tricks of monopoly capital in the United States? Chamberlain wants to "conciliate" the fascist aggressors. But this is not to be accomplished by just being nice to Hitler and Mussolini. Everybody knows that this "conciliation" requires giving the fascist aggressors certain tangible concessions, a "free hand" in certain parts of the world. In other words, somebody has to pay for this "conciliation." But Chamberlain does not propose that England shall pay the major share. Not at all. Chamberlain wants others to pay: Austria, Czechoslovakia, France and . . . the Soviet Union.

Is that all, though? No, that is not all by far. Hitler is already looking towards China. He (and Mussolini and Japan) are making definite headway in Latin America. When the bargaining becomes tight in Europe, Chamberlain will be "tempted," as he already is, to accommodate the fascist aggressors also in China and Latin America. And again—not at the expense of British imperialism, if possible, but at the expense of others. And who are these? They are the peoples and nations of those countries, on the one hand, *and the United States,* on the other.

Recall once more what we are dealing with in the present world situation. We are dealing with a drive by the fascist aggressors to bring about an imperialist re-division of the world. Chamberlain seeks to "conciliate" the fascist aggressors. And in doing so, *he tends to become a partner* to fascist aggression for the redivision of the world at the expense, partly of British imperialism, but largely at the expense of smaller nations and colonial countries, at the expense of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, at the expense of France and, as things develop, even more definitely *at the expense of the United States.*

Chamberlain tends to draw the British Empire into the Berlin-Rome-Tokio "axis" under the fraudulent assertion that he is drawing Berlin and Rome into the London-Paris "axis." It is certain that Chamberlain's plans must fail. But the attempt to realize these plans is doing great harm and is creating serious dangers. One of these dangers is that the contradictions between British and American imperialism will become sharpened and will assume more antagonistic forms, that the fascist drive for an imperialist redivision of the world will be accelerated, that the outbreak of a new world war will become more imminent, that the reactionary circles of American finance capital will drive this country into a war for imperial-

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ist aggrandizement with the consequent unleashing of political reaction and fascism in this country.

We can imagine the sincere isolationist and absolute pacifist (in distinction from the pro-fascist monopolies exploiting isolationism for war purposes) agreeing to most of the foregoing and saying to himself: yes, all this is just the reason why we should keep out of it. To which our reply is: wait a minute. Do you realize that isolationism and neutrality in the United States have played a major part in helping to produce this mess and the dangers that flow from it? Isolation and neutrality in the United States *have fed the capitulation policies of Chamberlain* while directly encouraging aggression by the fascist powers. There is not the slightest doubt that Chamberlain will try to justify his capitulation (as he is already doing) by the argument that he was "compelled" to do so because the United States refuses to cooperate. The fact that this is a dishonest argument, that Chamberlain himself did not want to cooperate—this fact is besides the point. What is more important in this connection is that very little was done by the United States to open the eyes of the British people *to the truth,* to encourage and strengthen among them those currents which genuinely desire collective action by the peace powers to curb the fascist aggressors. *This* is the important fact for us here to realize. The British pro-fascist clique has been consciously moving to capitulation and to partnership with the fascist aggressors. Everybody could see that. But not everybody in the United States could or wanted to see that the pressure of isolationism and neutrality in this country, skillfully utilized and manipulated by the pro-fascist circles of American finance capital, demagogically exploiting the peace and democratic sentiments of the people, that this pressure in America was working directly into the hands of Chamberlain and his fascist partners.

To put it more plainly: the fact that President Roosevelt's peace speech of October 8, calling for concerted action "to quarantine the aggressors," has not been translated by the government into specific actions to achieve the desired results—this fact has played into the hands of the British pro-fascist clique. It has made it easier for that clique to unfold the policy of capitulation to fascism with all that followed it. And why is the President's policy lagging in realization? Because of the pressure of isolationism and neutrality. Because of the intensified fight against collective security by the pro-fascist monopolies in the United States which are cleverly exploiting the peace and democratic aspirations of the masses as in the case of the Ludlow amendment and similar propositions. *Because, finally, the peace forces of the country, most particularly labor and the trade unions, have exerted all too little pressure upon the government to realize Roosevelt's October speech, have done all too little to rally active support for the policy of that speech, while some trade union leaders have in fact been working against that policy.*

We are now at a decisive turn in world affairs, at a sort of crossroads from which humanity may find itself driven with breakneck speed to a new world war *or* from which a fresh and

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successful effort may start in the direction of curbing the fascist aggressors by concerted action "to quarantine the aggressors." The opposition of the English people and of the peoples of the British Empire to the capitulation policies of the pro-fascist clique is just beginning to unfold in real earnest. By receiving the utmost support and encouragement from the peoples of other countries, especially from such countries as the United States, France and the Soviet Union, this opposition will not only increase and stiffen but will almost certainly succeed in sweeping the capitulators out of power in England, imposing upon the government an honest policy of collective security and peace. For this we must work, especially among the trade unionists and among the American people generally.

It is a new opportunity that we are facing today in the winning of the American masses for an active policy of peace and collective security. The very fact that things are coming to a head in England should enable us to convince the American masses that there are powerful forces in that country and in the Empire who oppose capitulation to the fascists, who do not wish a sharpening of Anglo-American imperialist antagonisms, who wish instead collaboration with the United States and with France and with the Soviet Union to curb the fascist aggressors and maintain world peace. The American people are vitally interested to encourage and support those forces. And the best—the only—way to do so is to build and strengthen the people's peace movement in the United States, to rally the widest mass support *especially of labor and the unions* for the policy of collective security, to bring the utmost pressure upon the American government *to realize in life* the President's peace policy as enunciated in his October speech in Chicago. This will help to victory those forces in England who oppose capitulation to the fascists. This will help bring to life the collaboration of America, England, France and the Soviet Union for concerted action "to quarantine the aggressors," to help render all possible assistance to the peoples of Spain and China, to save the world from the threatening war catastrophe.

This is the message that came out of the joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the National Party Builders Congress, held in New York City, February 18-21. Communists will take this message to the widest masses, exposing the maneuvers of the Trotsky-Lovestoneites, shattering the sophistries of Thomas & Co., helping the organization of the masses to struggle for the correct peace policies.

* * *

MATTHEW WOLL, the big insurance man parading as a "labor leader," the lackey of big business reaction, had the brazen effrontery to represent his fascistic attitude to the Soviet Union as expressing the position of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. Falsely claiming to speak for the workers who are affiliated with the A. F. of L., Woll declared that:

> "The Soviet regime deserves no more support from organized labor in democratic countries than do the governments of Hitler and Mussolini."

And for this he has already received

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the applause of every enemy of labor in this country, of every open-shopper, fascist and reactionary. Which is as it should be.

But the big question, the one from which there is no escape, still remains. What are the workers going to do to override the Wolls and to establish unity of the working class, to bring about unity of action of the workers of all countries to combat the world offensive of fascism? For Woll the question is settled. He and his like are in the camp of reaction, the same camp which stimulates fascism at home and encourages fascism abroad. But for the workers, for the class which is uncompromisingly opposed to fascism, this question still has to be settled: How to achieve unity, nationally and internationally.

Comrade Stalin's letter to the young Russian Communist Ivanov presents the greatest possible contribution to the solution of this paramount question. Stalin's letter deals with the question from the point of view of insuring the *final* victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. While the internal problem, the problem of abolishing the bourgeoisie and of building socialism, in the main has already been accomplished, there still remains the second problem—the one of insuring the Soviet Union against the dangers of military intervention and capitalist restoration. And this problem, said Stalin, "can be solved only by combining the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the still more serious efforts of the whole of our Soviet people."

How is this to be done?

"The international proletariat ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class in bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organized."

This is a correct, fully one-hundred per cent working class position, no matter what country a worker belongs to. It is as though a Soviet worker was telling his fellow workers in the capitalist countries: I will give you every assistance in your fight against fascism and war and you give me political assistance in my fight against intervention and capitalist restoration. A sort of mutual assistance and insurance against the attacks of a common enemy. *It is the most elemental and basic expression of working class solidarity at the present time.* What honest worker, who knows the world he lives in, can fail to respond to this principle of working class mutual assistance and protection?

And here is a practical example of what Comrade Stalin meant. It is well known that organized labor in the Soviet Union, the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., are desirous of joining the International Federation of Trade Unions (I.F.T.U.). Negotiations between the respective trade union bodies have been going on for some time. What is the meaning of this? It is to strengthen the international ties between the workers of the Soviet Union and the workers of the bourgeois countries. It will make available and actual every assistance to the workers of the bourgeois countries by

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the workers of the U.S.S.R. It will equally make available and actual the political assistance to the workers of the Soviet Union by the workers of the capitalist countries.

Just think of what that would mean to the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascists? It would almost certainly insure the victory of the Spanish Republic. Or think of what that would mean to the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor? Even a child can see the tremendous results that would come from such united action. And can one fail to see how such unity would strengthen the determination of the workers in Germany, Italy and Japan to gird themselves for liberation from fascism? Can one fail to see the tremendous accretion of strength to the workers of *all countries* that would result from such unity? How that would immediately strengthen our own forces here in the fight against the Girdlers?

Mind you, we are dealing here with just one form of mutual assistance between the workers of the capitalist countries and of the U.S.S.R. And this alone promises so much. It promises in addition that the fascist aggressors will be thinking a million times before they actually venture to attack the Soviet Union, to initiate intervention and to precipitate a world war, if the fascists and the pro-fascist cliques in the democratic countries know beforehand that they will face the mutual assistance of the workers in the bourgeois countries and the workers in the U.S.S.R.

Is it worthwhile seeking these objectives? What honest working class heart can fail to respond to such an appeal when presented intelligently and in the spirit of elementary international solidarity of the workers?

By a fraudulent sleight of hand, Matthew Woll tries to misrepresent this appeal into a call for war. He says:

> ". . . the American workers will not permit themselves to become embroiled in war to help save Stalin's dictatorship."

In throwing out this slander and misrepresentation, Woll merely repeats the Trotskyite agents of fascism. He repeats the Lovestoneites. And Norman Thomas, we recall, has been saying something very similar. But whatever the "original" source, the slander is a slander and misrepresentation. It is designed to keep the workers disunited and to help fascism and reaction. It is no accident that the same Wolls and Trotskyites and Lovestoneites who are doing everything to prevent trade union unity in the United States are at the same time doing all they can to make more difficult (if not impossible) trade union unity on a world scale and to obstruct unity of action between the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the capitalist countries. These are the agents of the enemy in the labor movement.

The conclusion from all this is relatively plain. This is the time, of all times, *when the workers of all countries must step forward unitedly and assert their undying enmity and opposition to the war plans of the fascists and those who encourage capitulation to fascism.* This will strengthen all democratic and peace forces. It will stimulate must deeply the rapid growth and consolidation of the camp

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of democracy and peace nationally and internationally. It would constitute the most serious setback that could be administered to the forces of fascism and war everywhere.

During the current month the toiling masses of all countries will be celebrating International Women's Day. This is a most opportune occasion for rallying the toiling women in this struggle for peace and working class solidarity. The American women are literally marching in the front ranks of this historic battle. They can become a most powerful force for cementing and broadening the entire anti-fascist and anti-war movement. We must fully utilize the opportunity offered us by International Women's Day. And for this purpose—remember the national speaking tour of Mother Bloor.

* * *

OUR leaders—Browder and Foster—have given an authoritative answer to the current reactionary campaign of Red-baiting. This may not stop the reactionaries but it should certainly help scotch their nefarious plans.

The present Red-baiting attack is apparently directed at Communists alone and in this it differs from the Red-baiting of 1936 and 1937 when reaction sent its blows mainly against the liberal and bourgeois-democratic forces of the progressive camp. It will be recalled that then it was Roosevelt and LaGuardia that were singled out by the pro-fascists for vilification and slander. But the trick did not work. The majority of the people simply refused to be fooled.

Hence the new method: the attack on members of the Communist Party as such, Comrade Gerson being the outstanding example. But while the method is different the aim is the same. It is to disrupt the growing camp of democracy, to hinder the unification of labor, *to prepare the ground for a direct assault upon the entire democratic front in the coming 1938 elections,* at the same time seeking to weaken and cripple the Communist Party which has already become an indispensable factor in the progress of the American people.

There are signs to indicate that progressive labor and the sincere bourgeois democratic forces in the progressive camp—in the democratic front—are not inclined to be terrorized by the Red-baiting howls of the reactionaries. On the contrary, it would seem that there is a tendency to stand firm and to resist. Which of course is the only good way of acting in the circumstances, good, that is, for all the elements in the democratic camp. As Comrade Browder put it in his address to the Madison Square Garden meeting:

> "If the camp of reaction can drive Si Gerson out of his obscure and relatively unimportant post on the issue of Communism, then there is not the slightest reason in principle why they cannot drive His Honor the Mayor out on the same issue." (*Daily Worker,* February 22.)

Still the reactionary campaign of Red-baiting carries certain serious dangers. Weaker elements in the democratic camp may waver. Backward elements of the population may be misled, are already being misled. Consequently, it is vitally necessary to carry on the most intensive work of clarification among the widest masses,

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patiently and thoroughly, seeking to dispel the slanders of the reactionaries, exposing their true aim of disrupting the democratic camp, and presenting the true position of the Communist Party on the issues that were raised.

Comrade Browder's address at Madison Square Garden and Comrade Foster's report to the first session of the Central Committee and Party Builders (*Daily Worker*, Feb. 21 and 22)—these two expressions of opinion of our leaders give us the "ammunition" with which to combat the reactionaries and thus to turn the onslaught of the reactionaries upon the democratic camp into a fresh attack upon the camp of reaction and fascism.

Meeting squarely the charges leveled at us by the reactionaries that Communists cannot sincerely champion democracy "because" they believe in Communism and receive "orders" from Moscow, our Party unqualifiedly rejects these charges, proves conclusively that Communists —just because they believe in socialism through working class power—are the only consistent defenders of democracy, and that our accusers are the very ones who are conspiring against the democratic liberties of the people, seeking to undermine the democratic institutions of this country. After the statements of our leaders on the subject, supplemented by the record of work of the Communist Party, no doubt should remain on the matter in the minds of honest and informed persons.

Yes, the reactionaries say hypocritically and maliciously: but what about your philosophy of "force and violence," what about your teachings and programs "which glorify bloody revolution"—how does this square with your present-day professions in favor of democracy?

Informed persons always knew that, in saying so, the reactionaries are consciously caricaturing the Communist position. Informed persons also know that the fountain head of force and violence was reaction, invariably so.

The teachers, founders and leaders of Communism and of the Communist International, through all periods of its development, through Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have always advocated democracy as the road to working class power and socialism —the highest type of democracy. They always insisted that working class power and socialism will become possible when the will of the working class and of the people will so express itself in a democratic way. And they also insisted that, as reaction throughout history has always resorted to force and violence to block the will of the people to progress and to higher and happier forms of life, the people will use all available means to defend themselves, to defeat the violence of reaction, and to establish the will of the people. This is also in the best tradition of our nation and country.

Moreover, in the present day struggle against fascism and war, the outlines of new approaches to working class power and socialism are to be clearly observed. If the working class of the bourgeois countries, in collaboration with the working class of the Soviet Union, should succeed, as they must, in defeating fascism and war, and this they can do by stepping forward and extending and strengthen-

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ing the democratic and People's Front everywhere; and by defeating fascism nationally and internationally, the people succeed in undermining the very roots of fascism—reactionary monopoly capital and landlordism; the conditions will be created for a peaceful and painless transition to working class power and socialist liberation, to the higher type of socialist democracy.

Through democracy to the socialist liberation—that is what Communists stand for and fight for.

But what about our accusers, the people who engineered the plot against Comrade Gerson, the people who seek to split the unions by driving Communists out of them (as though it could be done), the people who want to disrupt and demoralize the growing democratic front so they can have an easier time in the coming national elections this fall—what about these people and *their* relation to democracy and to the traditions of our nation, country and people?

Well, they are the same people who are daily undermining the democracy of the country. They are the ones who rob and exploit the masses of America, who seek the return of the Hoover days by means of more intense political reaction and fascism. The engineers of this Red-baiting (not their misguided and deceived supporters) are the very ones who belong to secret international fascist cliques, who support the aggressive bloc of fascist powers—the mortal enemies of our people and country. They are the same gang who are selling, or approve the sale, of munitions to Japan, Germany and Italy, the same munitions with which Japan is murdering Americans in China. They are the fellows who for the sake of super-profits are daily selling out the interests of this country and its people.

And these are the persons who "accuse" the Communists of disloyalty to democracy and to America.

The present Red-baiting attack of the reactionaries presents not only dangers but also opportunities. It is a fresh opportunity for us to intensify manifold our efforts to help bring about *trade union unity*, to promote further the organization of the *democratic front* against reaction, fascism and war, *to prepare for the crucial struggle to defeat reaction in the 1938 elections*, to build further our Party *into a mass party* of Marxism-Leninism. This is what came out of the February meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the National Party Builders' Congress.

The forces of the democratic front are growing. This has been shown clearly in the report of Comrade Hathaway. The program of the democratic front is taking shape in the very life and daily struggles of the people against the reactionary offensive. Points of this program found expression in the recent speeches of President Roosevelt though the policy of his administration is far from realizing the program. The legislative platform of the C.I.O. coincides in the main with the program of the democratic front as envisaged by us and as further developed by the Central Committee plenum. This program is already supported by a majority of our people. The task now is *to organize the democratic front and to prepare for the 1938 elections.*

Despite the attacks of reaction and

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its Red-baiting, the democratic front will continue to grow, representing the beginning of the development of a real People's Front against reaction and fascism. And in this development, labor has an increasingly important role to play. Comrade Roy Hudson has shown in his report to the Central Committee the progress of labor economically and politically as well as the problems still facing it in the struggle for trade union unity on the basis of the C.I.O. proposals and in the promotion of the democratic front.

The most urgent task for labor, through the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Railroad Unions, is *to display initiative in bringing together all other progressive forces (farmers, middle classes, Negroes) in the building of the democratic front.*

Important and significant is also the growth of the people's peace movements and the spreading influence of the ideas of collective security in the face of intensified reactionary attacks and demagogy which confuses the masses. This has been shown convincingly in the report of Comrade Brown to the Central Committee. It has also been shown that the growing struggle for collective security and the movements arising from it represent a most vital force for the building and consolidation of the democratic front.

* * *

AN HISTORIC gathering—this is the characterization of the first *National Party Builders Congress,* held jointly with the Central Committee, given to it by Comrade Stachel, the reporter on Party building, in his summary. Historic in many respects: in the achievements which it marked, in the large number of growing Party leaders, in the emphasis which it placed upon the lagging tempo of Party building, and in the unmistakable opportunities which it disclosed for the continuing and more rapid growth of our Party.

The facts registered at this gathering almost spoke for themselves. In the course of the recruiting drive, the Party has won about 22,000 new members, giving us today a membership of 75,000. During the same time, there were set up two additional daily papers—for California and the Midwest—the *People's World* and the *Midwest Daily Record.* And, it goes without saying, in the course of this work a great extension has taken place of the Party's educational work, an improvement of its quality, and an improvement of our organizational methods and practices.

All this is unquestionably something that every Party member has a right to be proud of *but not self-satisfied.* The report and the discussion both emphasized two main ideas: the present tempo of Party building and growth is slow. The time element is decisive. These were the thoughts that dominated the minds of the Congress and determined the outcome of its deliberations. And in the following decisions:

Party building can now be made a continuous process, inseparable from our daily mass work. Every Party member can be made a Party builder. The Central Committee has recognized, through the summary remarks of Comrade Stachel, that it has learned a lot from the delegates to the

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Party Builders Congress. It has learned especially two thing: (a) that *in practice* we have all underestimated the readiness of the masses to come into our Party; and (b) we were fully confirmed in our opinion and were able to see this truth in a new light, namely, that there is in our midst an inexhaustible source of new leaders, of active Communists, practical, bold, with initiative, having close personal ties with the masses, and heartily devoted to our Party, to its principles, to its leadership.

What else do we need to build a mass Party grounded in Marxism-Leninism? Nothing. We have all that is required. Only go ahead and do it. And this was the spirit and decision of the February joint meeting of the Central Committee and of the first National Party Builders Congress.

Of course, proceeding from the existing objective situation: the growing political maturity of the masses, the sharpening class relations, the offensive of reaction in the surroundings of a developing crisis and the menace of a new world war, the growing democratic front and the progress of labor, the increasing influence of the Communist Party and its proven indispensability to the workers and the people generally.

And so our immediate tasks in Party building.

Continuation of systematic recruiting. The next great opportunity is clearly the preparation for and carrying through of the 1938 election struggle. We must meet this opportunity fully prepared to bring into our ranks fresh tens of thousands of members.

Educating, training, acclimating the new members—we have learned a good deal on that from the Builders Congress.

Extension of mass education. Our English press: *three daily papers.* The task is obvious. *Build their circulation and improve their quality.* But that is not all. We have a ramified national press in many languages. A most powerful weapon. Here too: build circulation and improve quality. And our literature. A great field for mass education, a field hardly touched despite our undoubted successes and growth in the production and sale of literature. Finally, the organization and extension of oral agitation and education.

Training of personnel for Party organizations and for work in non-Party mass organization. Improvement of methods of work in the Party: the application of *American methods of work.* Then, also, improvement of methods of work in mass organizations: responsibility, higher quality, initiative.

Great attention to improving the work of the national groups. A major immediate task.

Struggle against self-satisfaction. Remember that time is decisive.

Improvement of methods of Party leadership: collective work, self-criticism, struggle against all deviations, overcome all remnants of sectarianism in the application of the correct united and People's Front policies of the Party, guard against all tendencies to keep the Party at the tail-end of the mass movements, avoid moods of self-satisfaction, weld still more firmly the unity and discipline of the Party, develop alertness and vigilance on all problems affecting the Party and the mass movements.

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We must learn to ensure a collective and friendly discussion of all differences that may arise on political or tactical problems in order to overcome such difference rapidly. All leading bodies of our Party have the serious task to assimilate and master more consciously and systematically the lessons of Comrade Stalin's leadership which are exemplified so gloriously in our brother Party in the Soviet Union and in its world historic achievements of building the socialist society.

* * *

THE Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. will be held the last week in May, according to the decision of the Central Committee. The major points of the agenda will embrace the building of the democratic front, the 1938 elections and platform, the struggle for peace, Party building, and the adoption of the redrafted Party constitution.

The draft resolutions for submission to the convention as well as the redrafted constitution will be made public for discussion by the end of March thus insuring full two months of thorough discussion before making decision in convention.

It should be emphasized here that a thorough assimilation and mastery of the lessons and decisions of the February meeting of our Central Committee and Party Builders Congress will constitute a most effective preparation for the pre-convention discussion which will open with the publication of the draft resolutions.

* * *

BROWDER'S new book—*The People's Front*—is already being read by thousands. It will be bought and read by many, many more thousands; we hope tens of thousands.

The book has, of course, a very intimate relationship to Communists, members of our Party. And naturally so. We see *ourselves* in the book, our thoughts made clearer and deeper, our aspirations and actual work made more significant and meaningful, our class urges and desires lighted up and integrated with our Marxist-Leninist philosophy and theory.

But this intimacy of relationship with the book of Browder is easily established with all thoughtful workers and fighters against reaction. Listening to recruiting experiences of the Party Builders, one carried away the thought that in the books of Browder we have a most powerful and effective recruiter of new Party members. That's what the Party Builders said. Well, here is a new book to do it with.

Finally, and something which should go without saying, no thoughtful person, whatever his or her political views or philosophic tendencies, can afford to miss this book and still remain well informed.

It is Browder's book we are talking about: *The People's Front.*

A. B.

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THE 1938 ELECTIONS AND OUR TASKS*

BY CLARENCE A. HATHAWAY

DUE to Comrade Earl Browder's sickness, I am compelled to make this opening report to our Party Plenum and to the Congress of Party Builders. However, I wish to emphasize at the outset that I am not making the kind of report that Comrade Browder would make were he here. I will not attempt a general, rounded-out report on all aspects of the international and national political situation. I will speak rather on the coming Congressional election campaign and the mobilization of our forces for that campaign.

The thing that we should understand at the outset is this: the Congressional elections of this year are of primary importance for our Party, for the entire working class and for the progressive movement as a whole. They are of decisive importance for the anti-fascist movement of the entire world, and not only for that movement within our own country. In these election contests the basic differences between the progressive forces and the forces of reaction will come to a head. They will affect the international situation decisively, as well as the future developments within the United States itself.

We must bear in mind that these elections are taking place in an acute war situation—a situation which Comrade Browder characterized a couple of days ago, upon his return from Europe, as one which may at any moment crystallize into a general world war, merely as a result of some "incident" occurring in one or another part of the world. The fascist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, having organized themselves into a fascist international, are carrying on a campaign everywhere against democracy, working closely with the fascist forces within every country, rallying those forces for struggles against the Soviet Union and world democracy. The Hearsts, Girdlers and Fords of every democratic country are today cooperating fully with world fascism.

In recent days we have seen Hitler's move into Austria, virtually making Austria a part of Germany. This move undoubtedly endangers Czechoslovakia immediately, and all European democracies. It brings closer the outbreak of a general world war. In the Far East, the war developments threaten the peace of the Soviet Union and of the United States as well, with the continued Japanese invasion of China daily encroaching on American interests and threatening the Philippines, Hawaii, Alaska, etc.

* Report delivered at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., and National Party Builders Congress, held in New York, February 18-21, 1938.

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REACTION'S OFFENSIVE FOR THIS YEAR'S ELECTIONS

So, when we consider the election campaign this year, we must understand that America's role in this war situation as a peace force will be determined by the outcome of these elections.

In the United States, the elections are also decisive in determining the future course of the country. We are in the beginnings of a new economic crisis, in a situation where the big bourgeoisie, the ruling class of the country, are carrying on the sharpest offensive against the working class and the progressive movement, against the workers, farmers and small business people.

In this complex situation we know that if in this year's elections they are successful in returning their reactionary slate of candidates, the result would be more serious than a mere return to the policies of Hoover and the reactionary Republicans. A return of power to the reactionaries today would occur in a period when these reactionary forces are moving ever more determinedly in the direction of fascism. In short, in the 1938 elections, we are carrying on a fight for progress which is bound up directly with the fight for world peace and against the forces of fascism, a fight against those forces that would place the burden of the developing crisis in America on the workers, farmers and small business people, and involve us in a war.

Our problem is that of mobilizing the broadest mass of the American people to defeat the forces of reaction in this election campaign. It is to rally the progressive forces for a united offensive against the forces of reaction. In this connection we should realize a number of things that I have already stated in a general form but which I want to restate in a more positive form; and that is that this reactionary offensive which is today taking place is not just the reactionary offensive that we have witnessed in the past. What we have is the unfolding of the reactionary offensive in new forms, more confusing and dangerous to the people than was the case in the past. We have a situation where the reactionaries are coming forward under the banner of the Republican Party, but they are resorting to all sorts of demagogic slogans and promises in an effort to confuse the people and rally them under the banner of reactionary policies. We see this more clearly in the speeches made by the Republican leaders on Lincoln's Birthday, when Vandenberg, the Governor of Vermont Aiken, and others undertook to dissociate their policies from those of Hoover and Landon in an effort to make it appear that the Republican Party today is a progressive force, concerned with the needs of the people. But they were as vigorous in their denunciation of the policies of Roosevelt and the New Deal as were Landon and Hoover. Their "progressive" phrases were only the trimmings to conceal their attacks on Roosevelt's *progressive* policies. It is necessary, therefore, for us to be most conscious of the role that these reactionary forces are playing.

Moreover, we must see in their maneuvers an effort to bring about a coalition between the reactionary Re-

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publican Party and the reactionary forces of the Democratic Party, who have been waging war against Roosevelt, against the New Deal proposals, against the C.I.O., and against all the progressive forces of the country. There is one group in the Republican Party, that represented by Aiken, which is trying to bring about a coalition of Republicans and Democrats on a progressive-sounding program in an effort to thwart the will of the people and to establish reactionary domination of Congress. There is the Hoover wing, which, though resorting to demagogy and also hoping for a coalition, believes it is possible to defeat Roosevelt and the people by a more openly reactionary program. These differences in the Republican Party must be noted in order to combat them effectively. Above all, it must be noted that the Republican Party is now most aggressive in the fight against all democratic, progressive policies; as the elections approach, the Republican-Liberty League forces become ever more active.

In the Democratic Party there is the most serious split between those who support Roosevelt and his New Deal proposals and those who have throughout the past period fought Roosevelt's Supreme Court reform, and all other progressive, legislative measures brought forward in Congress. This reactionary group in the Democratic Party, personified by Carter Glass and others of that type, are today the main obstacles to the realization of a progressive legislative program. They, together with the Republicans, are carrying the Tory banner in this year's election. These reactionaries are joining hands with the big monopolies in their present sit-down strike against the administration, hoping to take full advantage of the present "recession" to load the crisis burdens on the people and to regain political control. The election campaign will see one or another form of coalition between the reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats. They will jointly strike to realize the pro-fascist program of the National Manufacturers Association, of the big interests in general.

Their policy, as I have emphasized, has to do both with the curbing of democracy at home and with support for fascist aggression and war abroad.

In their inner politics the objective will be to defeat all progressive legislative measures and to destroy the progressive movement of workers, farmers and small business people. In their foreign politics, their objective will be to prevent the United States from playing a role on the international arena which would contribute towards the restoration and maintenance of peace. They oppose a policy of collective security as urged by Roosevelt and the progressives, demagogically making use of isolationism to further outright jingoism, to prevent the United States from coming forward as an active peace force, and to aid the fascist bandit nations in their war on democracy.

THE FORCES OF PROGRESS COMING TOGETHER

As against the activities and role of these reactionary forces, there is undoubtedly a coming together of the progressive forces of the country. This is shown on every front. To begin, for example, with the peace front, we find

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a marked development during the past period in the direction of collective security as against the old policy of isolationism. The American League for Peace and Democracy led the way, abandoning its old reliance on a false neutrality and supporting collective security. The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, the Conference of the National League of Women Voters, the National Student Union and other groups (women's groups, pacifist groups, etc.) have made a marked turn in the direction of collective security as against isolationism. On the Negro front the broad mass of Negro people are uniting with the most important Negro organizations, joining in the National Negro Congress around a broad progressive program.

In the trade union field there are very marked developments. Labor's Non-Partisan League is extending its organization into most of the states of the Union and becoming increasingly active in uniting the working class forces in preparation for this year's campaign. The C.I.O. is much more conscious politically than was the case in the past, bringing forward labor's demands and developing the fight to unite the forces of labor for political action. Within the A. F. of L., despite the splitting role of the reactionary leadership which controls the Executive Council, local unions, central bodies and even State Federations of Labor, in a number of cases, are cooperating with the C.I.O., joining Labor's Non-Partisan League and preparing to play a progressive role in this year's election campaign.

We see in Congress, moreover, the organization of the progressive bloc, numbering some 40 progressive Congressmen who stand out in defense of the program of the New Deal, who cooperate closely with the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League, which is moving more aggressively on every front as a factor standing for progress as against the forces of reaction. In this situation we have the problem of developing the struggle to unite further the progressive forces and to defeat decisively the reactionary forces in this election campaign.

If these reactionary forces are defeated, the United States can become an active force on a world scale in the interest of peace. If these reactionary forces are defeated, it can take the initiative in bringing together France, Britain, the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations in a bloc able to maintain peace in the face of the fascist aggression, a bloc capable of checking their aggression, a bloc able to compel them to discontinue their offensive in Spain, in China, or in other parts of the world.

A progressive administration with policies such as were proposed by Roosevelt in his Roanoke speech, in his Chicago speech, in his message to Congress, etc.—declarations in which he outlined a policy for world peace and to meet the needs of the people in the present crisis—could guarantee the putting of such policies into effect. A progressive Congress would change these from mere speeches into legislative enactments.

Here let me emphasize that the policy as proposed by Roosevelt in his Chicago speech, when he advocated "quarantining" aggressor nations, and urged concerted action by the peace-loving nations against the fascist ag-

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gressors, was in no sense a war policy, as is contended by Lovestoneites, Trotskyites, Socialists and many pacifists. That policy, as proposed by Roosevelt then, and supported by us, is the only policy that could stop the fascist aggressors—by economic, political and moral pressure—and contribute toward peace.

If at this time we had unity of the democratic, peace-desiring nations, if we could bring together the United States, France, Britain, the Soviet Union, the Scandinavian countries, etc., for concerted peace efforts to stop the fascists, warning them that they are today violating their international agreements and obligations, demanding that their forces be taken out of Spain and China, that their aggression be discontinued; if we were prepared to back this up by the cutting off of munitions, oil, iron, cotton and other products, we could bring these nations back to their senses and restore world peace.

The elections this year—if we can put candidates into Congress who will join and support the present progressive bloc in Congress—can force the adoption of such a policy. Moreover, the election of a large progressive bloc, added to those progressives there today, can block the drive of the big monopoly capitalist groups in their effort to place the burdens of the crisis on the mass of the people, on the workers and farmers particularly. Such a progressive bloc can shift the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of those best able to pay, to the rich, to the big monopoly capitalist groups. The struggle for peace and the inner crisis situation equally contribute toward making the elections this year decisive.

The outcome of the elections in 1938, moreover, will have the greatest bearing on the outcome of the elections in 1940. If, this year, the progressive forces can defeat decisively the forces of reaction, our possibilities of winning a decisive progressive, anti-fascist victory in 1940 would be very greatly enhanced. If, on the contrary, the reactionaries are permitted to win in this election, they undoubtedly would gain a great advantage for the elections two years hence, an advantage very detrimental to the progressive forces, an advantage that already today would encourage the world fascist forces. Such a defeat would indicate that the progressive forces were weak, that they were unable to rally their forces sufficiently to check the reactionary forces. It would lead to a still bolder fascist offensive.

From this it should be clear to all of us that our job, the job of the whole progressive movement and therefore also of our Party, is to mobilize our forces, to bend every effort, through every channel, to make full use of our strength and influence. That does not mean waiting until October or November, until a few weeks before the elections are to take place. It means that *now* the Party, from top to bottom, must be geared up for our participation in this campaign, striving to bring together all the progressive forces, aiding in working out a constructive, progressive program around which the progressive forces can win.

The first thing we have to stress is this: the organization of the working class movement for participation in

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this campaign— the bringing of the trade unions, with all of their strength and influence, into the forefront of the 1938 elections. Here we must bear in mind that until the working class is organized and actively participating in the campaign, it is not possible to bring about that broader unity of the people that is essential to victory. I also want to emphasize this, that it means, to the maximum extent, a united working class, made conscious of its leading role and, above all, made conscious of the necessity of drawing around itself the broadest mass of the people. Here we will encounter difficulties, primarily because of the split in the trade union movement. We know that the C.I.O. unions are committed to progressive political action and are backing Labor's Non-Partisan League to the maximum degree. We also know that the A. F. of L. Executive Council at Miami condemned Labor's Non-Partisan League and is attempting to split labor's political front. They join the reactionaries in the struggle against L.N.P.L., believing thereby that they can defeat the C.I.O., check progressive unionism and progressivism in general. It is our job to overcome these splitting tactics of the Executive Council by carrying on our work in every locality and in every state in such a way as will contribute toward bringing the working class movement as a whole together, as will hold it together, making it the most effective and dynamic force in the campaign. We must be on guard constantly in furthering Labor's Non-Partisan League, in giving it support locally, regionally and nationally, that we do not contribute toward narrowing it down to just the C.I.O. forces and those to the Left. We must be most energetic in striving to bring in particularly the A. F. of L. unions.

This means more than merely securing the affiliation of local A. F. of L. unions. It means reaching the leading people of the A. F. of L. on a local and state scale. It means drawing these leading people into the leadership of Labor's Non-Partisan League on an equitable basis with the leaders of the C.I.O. It means, above all, the winning and drawing in of the leading representatives of the railroad botherhoods who can contribute much toward overcoming antagonisms between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

We have the experiences of the elections in New York, Detroit and a number of other cities. In New York a real effort was made to bring the A. F. of L. unions into the American Labor Party. Here we met with considerable success. But, besides that, a special A. F. of L. Committee was set up to support the anti-Tammany candidates, and this committee, in the main, worked in cooperation with the American Labor Party. We know that in New York, where these special efforts were made to bring the A. F. of L. unions into this broad political movement, with the setting up even of this special A. F. of L. Committee, here the progressives had success in their efforts to defeat reaction.

In Detroit, on the contrary, where the whole campaign was conducted on a narrow trade union basis and where the split between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. was most pronounced, with the A. F. of L. leaders openly supporting the reactionary candidates, we had the defeat of the

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progressive candidates in the city elections. If we look over the country, we find that wherever a similar situation existed the progressive candidates were defeated and the reactionary forces elected.

For such reasons, I emphasize that we must throw our forces behind Labor's Non-Partisan League in every state, in every locality, helping to build it into a powerful *united* political force capable of playing the greatest part in the election campaign. But in doing this we above all must be conscious of the necessity of achieving united trade union activity—A. F. of L. and C.I.O.—for the election campaign if we are to be successful. In other words, it is our particular job to concentrate on the drawing of the A. F. of L. locals and local and state leaders into Labor's Non-Partisan League, into political activity on the progressive side as against the undoubted splitting activities that will be carried on by Green, Woll and the top leadership of the A. F. of L.

The drawing together of labor and its active participation is a prerequisite for the building of that broader political movement which we want to encourage and further in this election. Around this movement of labor, around Labor's Non-Partisan League it is necessary for us to secure the active participation of the farmers, small business people, and all middle class forces.

BROADENING LABOR'S APPROACH TO MIDDLE CLASS FORCES

In the recent period there has been a real broadening out of labor's approach to these groups. In the past we could criticize the C.I.O., and the progressive trade union movement in general because of narrow trade unionism, because of a too narrow approach to the broad problem of politics. But today the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League have made a successful approach to the farmers and other non-working class groups.

At the last convention of the Farmers Union held in Oklahoma City, representatives of the C.I.O. were present. A progressive program was adopted; the Coughlinite influences in the Farmers Union were to a great extent overcome. Following that convention, conferences were held between representatives of Labor's Non-Partisan League and of the C.I.O., and the leading committee of the Farmers Union, where a pact was drawn up in which the farmers and workers agreed to cooperate on a common legislative program and in furtherance of general progressive principles. The beginning made at Oklahoma City and at the follow-up conference at St. Paul must be further advanced in the preparations for the election campaign. Here all that we have said at past meetings of the Central Committee and in the Political Bureau on the necessity of our Party seriously taking up work among farmers in every district has to be reiterated and re-emphasized. Only to the degree that real unity of action is established between workers and farmers in this election campaign can the progressive forces be victorious. In going back to your districts, in preparing for your campaign, it is not sufficient merely to plan work in the industrial centers, in the places where today you are entrenched and have

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influence. It is necessary to see the state as a whole, and above all to figure out ways and means by which we, together with the progressive political movement, can reach out into the countryside, drawing the farmers into this progressive movement along with the workers.

It is equally necessary to give the greatest attention to the problem of winning small business people and middle class groups for support of this progressive coalition against the forces of reaction. We have to reach these people, giving them representation on the ticket, drawing them into the campaign, making them an integral part of this progressive political front. It is necessary also to realize that at this stage of the game it is not possible in most instances to have one pattern for our participation in the campaign. We cannot generally think in terms of the organization of a labor party or a new progressive party such as exists in Minnesota, Wisconsin or New York. Our policy must be one that first results in the organization of the labor and progressive forces *independently* as much as possible. We must try in the preparation for the campaign and in the campaign itself to organize the labor forces *as a general rule* in Labor's Non-Partisan League. But we must also bear in mind that while organizing labor's forces, that labor by itself and with its own candidates is not strong enough to carry victory in the elections, and if such a narrow course were followed it would result in defeat.

Our policy must be a very flexible policy, with the most careful study of the relationship of class forces in every locality. We must examine the situation within the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Labor Party, in all political groupings, to ferret out all of the people and groups that stand for progress as against reaction. Our policy in the working out of our program, of our tactical line, in the selection of candidates, etc., and at every step in the conduct of the campaign must be to bring these progressive forces together. We must aid in finding the means by which these progressive forces can express themselves fully in the campaign and participate in the leadership. The tactics and methods will vary from state to state, from locality to locality. It is our job to give serious aid in figuring out those forms and policies which are most suitable to each particular situation, always bearing in mind that the broadest unity of all democratic forces is necessary to win the elections.

For example, in Minnesota, in Wisconsin, certainly there it is the policy of our Party to support the candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party and of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation respectively. But when we go from there into other states, the form of our participation will vary. In Washington, there exists the Commonwealth Federation, a progressive federation which contests the Democratic primaries in an effort to have its candidates chosen as the candidates of the Democratic Party. In this case it is our job to build the Commonwealth Federation, to support its candidates within the Democratic Party, trying to make those primaries the battleground between forces of progress and the forces of reaction. In California there is a somewhat similar situation

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where remnants of the Epic movement still exist, but where Labor's Non-Partisan League is now being built up. There the problem is to further the unity of these progressive forces with progressive sections of the Democratic Party, striving to nominate progressives as against reactionaries in the Democratic primaries. The job there is to defeat Governor Merriam and to break his control of state politics.

In New York we have a still different situation. Here it is our job to support the American Labor Party, its candidates and its coalition policy with the progressive forces within the Democratic Party and in some instances within the Republican Party.

But, above all, when confronted with these complex tactical problems, it is necessary always to remember that the working class forces should be organized independently and become the conscious driving force within the whole progressive front. Secondly, when it comes to a question of election tactics, there our policy must be a most flexible one that will seek out the progressive forces in each state, that will attempt to bring them together, making them a united force against the forces of reaction in that particular locality and state. If we do that, it will be possible for us to contribute toward furthering the progressive movement in this year's elections.

HOW SHALL OUR PARTY PARTICIPATE?

Now, as to our Party itself—there we will have a number of possibilities. In some cases our Party, in its own name, will be able directly to enter into the election coalition that is created; our Party will be accepted as part of the general progressive movement. That will be the case only in very few instances. In such instances our Party should go in as a Party, participating fully in the campaign. In most cases, however, we will have a different situation where our Party, as a Party, will not be admitted into this progressive force that is brought together for the purpose of the campaign. There also we should support the progressive movement, not demanding the admittance of our Party, not making this a condition for our support of the democratic forces, but showing by our activity in the campaign, by our energetic support for the progressive candidates, that our Party is a constructive force entitled to entrance in the progressive movement, thereby paving the way for entrance at a future time.

In outlining this policy as I have, I want to stress that this represents an effort on our part to bring together in this election campaign all democratic forces. It represents an effort on our part to bring into a broad democratic front all of the forces opposed to the fascists, to the reactionary forces who are today attempting to put through their policies. Our speaking of the democratic front, of this effort to unite all the democratic forces, marks a recognition on our part that at this moment, at this stage of political development, it is not possible for us to realize a full-fledged People's Front such as we have in France or Spain. We must bring together Socialists, Communists, the organized workers and the progresisve middle class groups in a conscious People's Front movement, with a

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leading People's Front committee including our Party. But we must think in terms of the struggle against reaction from the viewpoint of the possibilities of the moment, and what is possible now is a much looser combination of progressive elements, comparable to the way these groups were brought together in New York in the last municipal elections, including the American Labor Party, the Fusionists, Communists, the trade unions, etc. This whole group came together behind a slate of progressive candidates, behind a progressive program as against the slate and the program of the reactionaries, of Tammany Hall. This was not a People's Front; this was only a looser coming together of progressive forces for the purpose of defeating Tammany. Such a development is, of course, in the direction of the People's Front.

In approaching the election campaign this year, we propose everywhere to further the development of such democratic fronts, of such unity of the democratic forces for the purpose of defeating the reactionary candidates, of electing the progressive candidates around a program that represents, in the main, the interests of the people. We believe that in pursuing such a policy it is possible in this year's election to defeat the reactionary forces and greatly increase the number of real progressives in Congress. Here I differentiate between the real progressives and those who rode into office in the last elections on the coat-tails of Roosevelt, who since have betrayed systematically, on every question, the New Deal pledges made to the people.

In the building up of this election campaign, and in pursuance of the general tactical line, the question is what kind of program shall we bring forward and popularize before the people. We must remember that Comrade Browder, in his report at the November meeting of the enlarged Political Bureau, took up concretely the proposals made by Roosevelt in some of his speeches prior to the opening of this session of Congress. He also took up the legislative program of the C.I.O. adopted at Atlantic City. He stated that in those speeches of Roosevelt, combined with the program of the C.I.O., there was already the basis for an advanced People's Front program around which the progressives could unite. These declarations of Roosevelt, taken together with the C.I.O. program, provide the essentials of a People's Front program.

It is necessary to add and to emphasize that the actions of the Roosevelt administration, as expressed in the Special Session of Congress and in this present session, are far from putting into effect the policy as placed by Roosevelt in those speeches. Now, therefore, in conducting the campaign for this year's Congressional elections, it is necessary for us everywhere to further a program that will provide a center around which the progressive forces can unite. This program should have as its central slogan the following: *For Democracy, Security, Jobs and Peace.*

In this general slogan we express in a rounded out way the problems of the people with regard to both the inner needs of the country and also with regards to foreign policy. When we demand democracy, we put most sharply the question of the struggle

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between the forces of reaction and those moving towards fascism. When we raise the question sharply of security and jobs, we most effectively counterpose our position in this period of crisis to that of the reactionaries who would place the burden of the crisis on the masses of the people. And, in the last part, the demand for peace—we lay the basis for that struggle on a world scale which will contribute most towards the maintenance of peace.

Following the popularization of this general slogan that embraces our whole orientation we should popularize slogans such as the following, endeavoring to make them the slogans and demands of the whole progressive movement: "For democracy, security, jobs and peace!" This must be further developed in subsidiary slogans, such as:

1. "Break the sit-down strike of big capital!"
2. "Jobs or adequate relief for every worker!"
3. "Enforce the law for collective bargaining upon the open-shop employers!"
4. "Improve and extend the Social Security Law for unemployed, aged and mothers to maintain an American standard of living!"
5. "Break the profiteering monopolies which rob the people's market-basket!"
6. "Guarantee to the farmers possession of their land and prices which correspond to cost of production!"
7. "Improve the Youth Act to provide education and jobs for all; extend the CCC camps!"
8. "Balance the budget by taxing the economic royalists!"
9. "Establish the people's will over the reactionary Supreme Court!"
10. "Protect the civil rights of the people guaranteed by the Constitution!"
11. "Outlaw the vigilante, strike-breaking, fascist gangs of big business!"
12. "Enact the anti-lynching law; enforce the equal rights law for Negroes!"
13. "Quarantine the war-makers!"
14. "Embargo against the fascist invaders of Spain and China!"
15. "For concerted action by the United States, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to restrain the war-makers!"

By such slogans as these and others that might be developed along the same line, depending on the local problems, the character of your local movement, etc., we can undoubtedly contribute most, not only to the unity of the progressive movement, but in giving to that movement character in the elections of this year. Here, I want to stress a thing that will be dealt with later in this conference, and that is that the key problem in the rallying together of the progressive forces and the clarifying of its program is the question of peace.

Here there is the greatest confusion between the isolationists on the one hand and those who support collective security on the other. If one looks within the progressive camp, one finds most of the progressives are progressive when it comes to domestic issues; but when it comes to foreign policies, there they are confused by such issues as the Ludlow Amendment, isolationism, neutrality and so forth.

For this reason it is the proper task of our Party in the bringing forward

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of a program such as I have suggested here above all to discuss and popularize the idea of collective security as the only means by which the United States can in any way contribute toward peace. We have to make clear that isolationism, a false neutrality, such as is in force today, support of the Ludlow Amendment and what not, are in no sense contributions toward peace, but are, on the contrary, those kind of measures that are demagogically expressed today by the reactionaries in order to further their support for war and fascism, and in order to support a war-making policy.

With such a program, with the approach that I have given to the question of organizing the progressive forces, I believe that our Party can go forward in this election campaign, contributing greatly to the unity of the progressive forces. And I would stress this in conclusion: that in developing this campaign, in carrying it forward in all of its phases, you must not forget the problem of building our own Party, of carrying on most intensive recruiting as a means of consolidating our position within this whole progressive front as the guarantee that this progressive front will have running through it a steel rod that can hold it on the course that the progressive movement in America must take.

Today we have wonderful possibilities. There is no doubt but that our Party today has greater influence and greater prestige than at any time in its history. Our Party is accepted as a factor in the progressive movement to a greater extent than ever before. It is precisely because of our increased strength and increased influence that we today have an intensified Red-baiting campaign against the Party that becomes a principal tactic of the reactionaries in their efforts to fight and defeat the whole progressive movement. Because of that, it is necessary for our Party, as a Party, to be more active, to make its position more clear, to recruit more energetically, while at the same time it looks to further this whole progressive movement in preparation for the campaign.

Comrades, we urge that all of the comrades here who have done such good work in recruiting for the Party go out from this Congress prepared to put all their energy, all of the strength of the Party as a Party, into the campaign of mobilizing for this year's election, into the campaign of uniting the progressive forces for victory in the elections. We know that if our Party does its best, uses all of its strength, we can be that force that will contribute most in helping to coalesce the progressive forces of the country.

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BUILD THE PARTY FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM!*

BY JACK STACHEL

At a meeting of the Central Committee the end of last June, our Party took upon itself two very important tasks—the conduct of a recruiting campaign and the launching of two additional daily newspapers. As we all know by now, on the whole we have made good. We came here with the two papers and with 22,000 new members. The Party organization on the whole, from top to bottom, took the decisions of the Central Committee seriously. The work was organized in practically all districts and in the Central Committee. You, comrades, gathered here tonight, and our tens of thousands of members throughout the United States have made these achievements possible.

In the Central Committee, the campaign was conducted under the personal direction of Comrade Browder, who was at the head of a special recruiting campaign committee. It was Comrade Browder's example that made possible in most of the districts the setting up of committees of a district character of a similar nature, led in each case by the district organizer. Our committee in the Center included a number of leading comrades. But I particularly want to mention one comrade who acted as director of the drive, under the chairmanship of Comrade Browder, and who has contributed a great deal to the success which we have realized. I would call this comrade to the platform, Comrade Rebecca Grecht. I also would like at this time, in appreciation of the work of the Party builders throughout the country who are represented here through delegates, to ask that one comrade, the best recruiter, from each of the state organizations, come to the platform and take a seat here with us throughout the session tonight.

A STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

Now, comrades, in January, 1937, the Party registered close to 37,000 members. In the first eight months before the campaign, the Party recruited over 15,000 members; since September 1, 22,000 members—making a total of approximately 75,000 membership cards issued to Party comrades between January 1, 1937, and the end of January, 1938. To date we have already registered in the Party approximately 55,000 members. This total, together with the new re-

* Report delivered at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., and National Party Builders Congress, held in New York, February 18-21, 1938.

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cruits in January and February, will probably account for about 60,000 members. I want to place before this gathering to start with when we get home, the problem of finding the other 15,000 and getting them in good standing in the Communist Party because I am sure that if the bulk of these are not in our ranks as active members now it is largely an organizational problem, and not because they have wavered or strayed from the path of our movement. I might also say that, in our opinion, the dues payments of 53,000 in the last months of 1937 do not represent an abnormal figure in the sense that it is too high in proportion to our actual membership. It represents a figure below which we *dare not* go at any time and beyond which we must go very rapidly in the near future. In the past our dues payments were on the average 60 per cent of the actual membership. We know of the difficulties in some districts where the workers and sharecroppers hardly ever receive cash money. But, despite this, we can and must raise the dues payments.

With these figures in mind before going into the lessons of the campaign, let us first place the task of Party building and our present gains in the light of our fundamental tasks. The chief task before the working class, and therefore the first task for the Party is to defeat the offensive of finance capital and block the road to fascism in the conditions of the developing economic crisis. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to unify and consolidate all labor and progressive forces into one single democratic front. This demands the strengthening of the economic and political organization of labor, the building of the movement of the C.I.O., the organization of joint action of unions of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., striving towards the achievement of trade union unity, as well as the stimulation of labor's initiative in gathering farmers, middle-class groups, and professionals into the general democratic front and to defeat all efforts to split this front by reactionary Republicans operating behind progressive masks.

These and other struggles that confront the American working class and the Communist Party place before us the basic task of building our Party into a true mass Party trained in Marxism-Leninism. At the Ninth Party convention, a little less than two years ago, Comrade Browder, after stating that the Party at that time consisted of 40,000 members and 11,000 Y.C.L'ers., said: "Our present membership of 50,000 looks good; but how small it looks compared to the 40,000,000 American toilers who must be won to our Party."

Despite the growth since then, this is even truer today because of the new situation and the new tasks. Viewed from these aspects, taking fully into account our recent achievements, we must say that the growing political consciousness of the working class, the sharpening of the class relationships and struggles which stare us in the face in every locality, the growth and influence of our Party only emphasize that the tempo of the Party's growth, politically and organizationally, is still too slow and far from meeting the needs of the working class and the tasks confronting our Party. The time factor is decisive. This was hammered into us by Comrade Brow-

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der and Comrade Foster. Today we can understand that when we read the news of world affairs in Europe, the struggle of the people of China, Spain, Latin America, the debates on foreign affairs in the U. S. Senate and Congress, the domestic situation, and the rapidly developing crisis, it becomes ever more evident that the time factor is decisive and that it is a race between the forces of progress and reaction.

If we wish progress to conquer, we must work at a much faster tempo. We have much to do and little time to do it in. Therefore, the maximum attention and energy of the Party must be centered on rapidly solving the problem of the political and organizational consolidation of our Party, if we are to be an organic part in the forging of the anti-fascist democratic front.

It is in this spirit, with a feeling of gratification in our accomplishments, yet tempered by the realization of our tremendous tasks and with a view towards building a Party able to accomplish these tasks, that we are going to discuss the lessons of the recruiting campaign.

Practically all of the districts have made progress, although, of course, the progress was not equal everywhere. Comparing the figures only up to the end of 1937, we recruited, for the first eight months 15,807 members, or 2,000 per month. In the last four months of 1937, from September to December, we recruited 17,849, or approximately 4,500 per month—two and one-quarter times the regular recruiting.

This means that districts which went above the two and one-quarter rate of increase are above the average, while those that went below this figure are below the average. Of course, in certain cases, we have special circumstances. For example, California, which is below the figure, stands second in the Party today in membership (and I am not settling the dispute between Illinois and California). California recruited only 239 per month—a total of 955 in the last four months of 1937; but it had to its credit an average of 285 and a total of 2,274 in the first months of 1937, because it conducted its own drive and initiated its own Party Building Congress. In fact, we borrowed the idea of holding the Congress from California. In one or two other cases where recruiting in the last period was not above normal, we may also find the high figure for the general course of the recruiting, but there are a few districts that can come with such a record as California to make up for the weaknesses they have shown during the drive.

A district like Alabama, which is first in this respect, shows for its recruiting during the campaign 405 per cent over the normal recruiting for the first eight months. Alabama stands first with the highest record proportionately in recruiting in the entire drive. We are happy about Alabama, and we are also happy about our Southwestern district of Oklahoma, and our district of Colorado, and the other so-called small districts, some of which will outstrip some of the so-called larger districts.

We are building new districts, new state organizations. They are beginning to take on the real life of state organizations, participating in the political life of their states.

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I did not intend at this moment to read the roll. Of the larger districts, however, we must mention the outstanding achievement in the campaign of the Illinois district, which recruited in the first eight months before the drive 132 per month and during the drive recruited in the first four months 1,714, or 429 per month, three and one-half times as much as before the campaign.

COMPOSITION OF THE RECRUITED MEMBERS

I want to come now to the very important question—the analysis of the composition of the new recruits; because this will give us a key to determining where our strong and weak points are, and what our problems are. Unfortunately, we are still unable to analyze all of the 22,000 new recruits. Our analysis is based thus far only on the partial figure of 16,973.

Of these 16,973—60 per cent registered as employed at the time when they joined the Party; 2,914 are members of A. F. of L. unions and 5,760 are members of the C.I.O.—a total of 8,674 or over 50 per cent, of the total newly recruited membership. Of course, there is a much larger percentage of those eligible, because a large number of housewives and others are not eligible to join specific trade unions.

One of the important achievements we can be proud of is the increase in the recruiting of women workers. The total of this partial figure is 5,346, or over one-third of the entire recruiting. Of course, I know that Mother Bloor will not be satisfied until she gets her full 50 per cent; but one-third is a good start.

A feature of great importance, comrades, is the fact that all of the recruits are American citizens and that the total of native born out of the 16,973 is 10,832, or 65 per cent.

Last, but not least, in fact one of the most important signs in our recruiting of 16,973, is that the number of Negro workers recruited is 2,890, or 17 per cent. The total number registered in January, 1937, was a low figure—2,649 Negroes in the entire Party at that time, out of a total of between 36,000 to 37,000—as you see, quite less than 10 per cent at that time. The figure today is already about a little over 3,000, which means we recruited more Negro workers in this drive than we had before the campaign began.

I want to mention particularly the banner districts in this connection. First comes, as should be, Alabama district, with 63 per cent of all its recruits Negro people. Then comes the border state of Missouri, with 61 per cent; then, the Chicago district, with 25 per cent; the Cleveland district, with 22 per cent; the Pittsburgh district, with 15 per cent; New York has the larger number, but in percentage, 12½ per cent.

Now, a few words about the industrial composition: Here the figure is based on the analysis of 17,292 of the first 18,000 in the first four months of the drive. The figures are: marine workers, first in rank—603; next come steel workers—552; miners comes next, with 474; metal workers—415; auto workers—426; transportation workers, mostly in New York, as well as, of course, in other districts—268; lumber workers 235; textile workers—206; railroadmen—187; packing-house

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workers—79; oil workers—79. The other industries: building workers—1,023; needle trades workers—984; food workers—788; shoe workers—254; furniture workers—115; tobacco workers—63; barbers—89; office workers—1,461; agricultural workers—219; farmers—313; sharecroppers—64; teachers—440; housewives—1,057; professionals—1,636; small businessmen—100. The total for basic industries, steel, auto, mining, etc., is 3,109, with figures on some industries still lacking, like metal mining and a few others. Also, among the January recruits a larger number was secured in the steel, mining, auto, and other basic industries, these groups experiencing an intensification of the campaign in the latter part.

What do these figures show? We certainly cannot be satisfied with this industrial composition. Surely not because we have recruited too many building workers, needle workers, office workers, housewives, etc. We want tens of thousand more in these categories. But we want the Party not to forget, however, that we must build ourselves, in the first place—root ourselves—in the basic industries, if we are to fulfil our historic task and meet the pressing problems of today and tomorrow.

We are also dissatisfied because we are convinced that the results in the basic industries do not correspond to our influence. They do not correspond to the ability of our Party to recruit, if we really take the job seriously—more seriously than we did, if we never lose sight of our concentration tasks, and if we learn how to meet certain problems which present themselves in these industries—problems which have to be answered before we can carry on successful mass recruiting. Take, for example, mining. We recruited 474 miners. We have in the Party a few thousand miners. The comrades in Pittsburgh district, in their report, pledged themselves to recruit at least 1 per cent of the miners in their district. That is a good start. If we had that throughout the country, we should have at least 6,000 miners in the Party. I can assure you comrades, that if you want to defeat and eliminate, at the next convention of the United Mine Workers, the anti-Communist clause, 6,000 miners will be a good beginning to accomplish that task, and we will not accomplish that until our Party becomes strong.

In an organization such as the miners' union, the most powerful union in the United States, the backbone of the C.I.O., a union of 600,000 members—is it not logical to expect that our Party, the vanguard of the working class, should be best represented among this category of workers? The Central Committee has decided to take special measures in the coming year for a special campaign of education, including special schools, organizers, etc., to build a powerful Party among the miners, with sufficient confidence among the miners to be able, at the next convention, through the very fact of life itself, to eliminate, not only in practice, but from the constitution itself, this dangerous clause which can be utilized by every enemy of the working class, and is being so utilized.

We cannot be satisfied until the miners' union will not only officially recognize the right of Communists to

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be members of the union, but that they are the best builders of the union, and the entire labor movement.

Or take the auto workers: yes, we recruited 426 auto workers in the last four months. We probably have some 1,500 auto workers in the country, with a union of 400,000. Here also 1 per cent would be at least 4,000 auto workers in the Party. And surely we have the right to set ourselves the task in the coming period actually to recruit, to build our Party into 4,000 strong in this important organized section of the workers in the basic industry.

How are we going to defeat the Lovestoneites and all of the poisonous influences that are being brought to bear on the auto workers who are looking increasingly for an answer to their problems? Surely we will not do it until we strengthen considerably our Party, not only in quality, but also in quantity. We must set ourselves the task within the coming period to build our Party to at least 4,000 strong among the auto workers in the United States.

I don't want to continue this way to emphasize our weaknesses in the steel industry. With all our weaknesses, our Party played an important role in the face of serious difficulties, because of the crisis and the inner situation in the union to maintain unity in that organization against all enemies, company spies, and Trotskyites. At the last convention our people worked for unity at all costs, giving full support to the leadership of the union. Thanks to the unity of the organization, the union has been able to write a new agreement which is a tremendous victory for the entire working class and gives the lie to the slanderous attacks on the C.I.O., alleging instability in its ranks. The ruling class would like to carry into effect a program similar to that of 1929. But there is a C.I.O. today. As Comrade Powers emphasized in his report, it was precisely since the economic crisis, with the mass layoffs, that the union was able to strengthen the organization by virtue of the fact that the workers saw in the union an organization fighting for jobs in their interests.

In the textile industry we are extremely weak. Here is an industry of way over a million workers. We recruited 206 into the Party. We didn't have very many to start with. And here is an industry where wage-cutting is rampant, where there is confusion. It is precisely the weakness of our Party which makes it difficult to carry through the policy we decided on time and again. We have the policy, but we haven't sufficient forces to carry it through in life. This is a challenge to the textile districts in particular. Our weakness is not only in the South, where we have not made the necessary progress among the textile workers, but also Philadelphia and the New England district. We are not building a strong Party in the textile industry. Let us admit it. Certainly, we are making progress. But we should measure this progress in terms of what is really happening in the industry, the problems that the workers are facing.

The marine industry, as I said before, recruited the highest number of the basic industries. But there is room for improvement. We must call upon the Party districts still further to

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strengthen recruiting among marine workers. We know that on the West Coast we are paying the price now, not only for certain mistakes, but also because we did not build a strong enough Party in the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the other crafts of the seafaring unions.

In the railroad and transportation groups we showed relatively an improvement in recruiting compared with the work we do in the railroad industry. Most of the districts have yet to discover railroads. As I said to the Trade Union Commission the other day, Comrade Foster does not miss an opportunity, whenever we discuss problems, to hammer home the question of work on the railroads; and he always starts out by convincing us again and again that there is not a district where there are not any railroads. He always ends up by asking that we cite just one place where there are no railroad workers. And we say the same things to the comrades here. There are railroad workers in every district, state, and city. But there are not enough in the Party.

I would also like to take the opportunity of mentioning the necessity for our Party organizations to give more attention to building our organization among the metal miners, oil workers, packing-house workers, chemical workers, white-collar groups, and the other groups where unions have sprung up.

We must also mention strengthening our Party among the agricultural workers. We cannot be satisfied with 219 recruits from among their number. Above all, comrades, I would like to call attention to the woeful weakness in recruiting among farmers, less than 2 per cent of the recruits. And what percentage is the farming population of this country? About one-third! We will have to do something about this. It is no longer a problem we can postpone. It is not something to argue about in the future.

We have seen what has been happening in the recent economic struggles. It was very good that the comrades from a number of districts dealt with the question. Comrade Schneiderman dealt with the question. Comrade Williamson knows the question as it is in Ohio. Where is it not a problem? Is it not a problem in New York to defeat reaction? Where do the reactionaries in New York, the Republicans, the Old Guard, get their main strength? Among the middle class, particularly the rural areas and farming areas up-state. It is clear, comrades, we cannot neglect the work in the rural areas any longer.

FOR INCREASED RECRUITING IN THE A. F. OF L. UNIONS

I think, too, that we must make a stronger effort in the immediate future to increase our recruiting in the A. F. of L. unions, which means in the basic unions of the A. F. of L.—railroads, building trades, food unions, and others, particularly, the teamsters, where we are awfully weak—and that is one of the decisive unions in the A. F. of L. today. Let us answer the charge that the C.I.O. has so many Communists! If Green and Woll complain, let us answer by getting more Communists from among the A. F. of L. unions. That is the most effective answer we can give!

In the coming weeks and months,

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therefore, comrades, we must pay special attention to the building of our Party in the basic industries, not only in the key industrial centers like Pittsburgh, Cleveland, or Detroit, but also in the smaller industrial towns, like Pontiac, Flint, Youngstown, and Canton; and even in the smaller towns, like Butler and Duquesne—the Butlers and Duquesnes all over the country; as well as in the chief rural areas of the United States, that they may become centers of Party strength from which we will reach out to the bulk and mass of the farmers in this country.

We must continue our good work and increase our recruiting among the Negro people generally and among the working women.

About the youth. You heard Comrade Winston today tell us that the Y.C.L. has only 15,000 members. This is a challenge to the Communist Party of the United States and to every one of us here. It is not the business of only the leading comrades in the Y.C.L. to build the Y.C.L. and to carry on work among the American youth. Surely, the Democratic and Republican Parties and all the reactionary organizations of the country consider it an important task to reach the youth. This is not a new question; but it is a pressing one. More pressing than ever before; precisely, as Comrade Winston said, not only because the youth are more important today because of the danger of fascism and war, because of the role that they are playing in industry, but also because the youth movement is growing very rapidly.

But on many issues this movement is still unclear and confused, and we have many enemies who are worming in and trying to disrupt and divert the movement and mislead it. A Young Communist League of 15,000, half of whom are in the state of New York, will not be able to cope with this problem. That is why we say that it is part of the task of building the Party, to help build the Y.C.L.

The comrades of the Y.C.L. ask of us political help, political guidance. They ask us to help build the organizations of the youth, like the Youth Congress, the Student Union, and similar organizations. They ask that we try to bring ever larger numbers of young workers into the ranks of the Party, which means to agitate, to educate and train them. And once we bring young people into the Y.C.L., we must bear in mind that the job is only begun, that we must have special methods and approaches: how to educate them, to help them to find themselves in society and in the movement. And if we are going to do that, comrades, we are not only going to build the Y.C.L., but we are going to help frame and build a reservoir of ever new young forces that will provide leadership in the growing mass movements, a leadership for our Party as well; and this is a task, comrades, well worth undertaking.

To summarize this whole point, comrades, let us see the encouraging results, the basis of our tasks and of our weaknesses. Let us dedicate ourselves to the task of making recruiting in the Party from now on a permanent, continuous activity, inseparable from all and every phase of Party work, and particularly utilizing the coming period, the struggles and the preparations for the 1938 elec-

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tions, the period of the convention preparations of our own Party, as a period of recruiting, of strengthening, and developing the capacities of our Party. No retreat from the present rate of 4,500 per month!—100,000 members in the next period, with no less than 75,000 dues-paying members at the time of our next convention, at the end of May of this year. A Party, stronger, better rooted in the basic industries, with stronger organization in the industrial towns and in rural areas of the nation—that is our goal.

I consider that tomorrow we shall have the most important part of our meeting, because we are going to hear, not only how to do things, but how things have been done. We are going to learn, we are going to gather these valuable experiences and summarize them for the benefit of the entire Party.

AFTER RECRUITING—TRAINING

At this stage we are all mindful of the fact that when we brought these new members into the Party we have only begun a job, that the job is now to be completed in the training, the educating of these new members. We have begun to build the Party and have gotten such results with only 20 per cent of our Party actively participating by actually recruiting personally. How much more effective will be our work of Party building, how much more effective our Party building will become, if Party building will become, not a special job of 20 per cent of the Party, but when the entire Party will in every sense be a Party of Party builders.

To the Party builders, I think, falls the happy task of making themselves personally responsible, after all the recruiting that they have done, to at least nurture these new members through the first period, until they get their Party bearing. Let us not turn them out and take a chance as to what will happen. We want to determine what will happen; that they become good Communists in the ranks of our Party. That is what we want. And for that reason the Party builders must become the comrades who will keep a list of those they brought into the Party; who will look after them; who will inquire after them from time to time, if they are in a different section or unit; who will communicate with them at their section, unit or district, and ask what happened to the comrades they turned over to them: What happened to these treasures which I turned over? What did you do with them? Until you feel that the job is completed, comrades, this must be done.

A comrade the other day told me of a very interesting book someone had given him to read, dealing with the methods used by Sears Roebuck and Company in promoting sales. They work their system so that once they get a lead, whether you buy or don't buy, they never take you off their books; they keep after you until they actually know that you are physically dead. Then they take you off their list. The comrade discussed the problem with me, whether it would not be possible to apply this lesson of salesmanship to our own Party work. Here we have brought in 22,000 new members in the past few months. If we were novices we could say well, they are in; but we have

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had lots of experience. We have seen how in the past many were lost. We are determined that it shall not happen again. And something which we have to settle is this: How is it that the very same comrade who will stop at nothing, who will if necessary travel for miles to visit a contact, takes the position that once the recruit is in the Party, well, that settles that. We put in no effort to retain the one we brought in. We lose track of him. We don't follow him up. I suppose that is because we have the habit of thinking that once a member is in the Party he is an old member, and old members have to look out for themselves. You are a new member until you get a book, and when you get a book you are an old member. Very well, let's decide to keep after old and new members, because 80 per cent are new members, only one, two, or three years in the Party. They are new; the great bulk joined in the last year. And let's determine to establish the kind of organization, yes, like Sears Roebuck; keep them on the lists, go after them, find out what they are doing, how they are doing, and I am sure this will cut down the fluctuation and will result in a stronger, healthier, more stable Party.

We have the problem now, comrades, with the new members, and, yes, with the old members, of really assimilating them into the Party, of educating them and placing them in the proper work. This is not only a problem for the new recruits, but upon the solution of this problem largely depends the progress of the future growth of our Party.

I want to touch for a minute on these points, the problem of education, of drawing the members into activity, of establishing them fully in the Party's democratic life, of using the proper American methods of work in connection with the Party structure.

With regard to education, I don't have to agitate you comrades here after the last three days' discussion that we are bringing into the Party for the most part workers full of life, full of fight. They don't know all our methods of work, they still require answers to certain questions, and we can only strengthen them, steel them, make them immune from the enemy theories by imparting to them the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. I would consider the first task to make them readers of our press. I feel certain that if a member of the Party reads the press, there will be less of a chance that he will stray from the Party than with one who does not. And how many members do we know go on from day to day, from week to week and only perchance now and then see a copy of the *Daily Worker?* How do they know the answers to problems when they are open to all germs that poison the atmosphere, Trotskyism, Lovestoneism, and what other anti-working class isms and forms? Let us begin seriously to undertake the job of making the Party comrades read our press. Sometimes there are problems of distance, difficulty in getting the paper, problems of mail, of finance. I know there are problems; but let us not say that they cannot be surmounted. It is a task for all of us to try to solve. We must strive to stimulate the reading of *The Communist,* the *Party Organizer, The Communist International,* and other regular publications.

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I would like to take a minute or two on *The Communist,* for all of us. I know that every time I am called somewhere to make a speech or a report, I take *The Communist,* sometimes very old numbers, and I read Comrade Browder's speeches, Comrade Foster, Comrade Bittelman's "Review of the Month," which summarizes world events, events in America, from a Marxist-Leninist point of view, clearly, like no other publication in the United States. And then I am better prepared. But, comrades, too many of us think we can speak on every and any subject. True, some are too modest; they think they can't speak about anything. Others think they can talk about anything without reading about it. Let us read, let us equip ourselves. There are no mysteries, we all have the capacity to read. We can equip ourselves every day to become more effective in our work.

The second problem is that of self-study. Not everywhere have we classes and schools, special classes and study circles, workers' schools. They are all important, and we must stress this fact to the utmost. But, comrades, for a Party comrade really to educate himself, he should read and study a book like Comrade Browder's new book—*The People's Front,* and he will find out how much he doesn't know and he will know ten times as much as he thinks he knows now. There are many things Comrade Browder wrote a year and two years ago which have a broader meaning, a clearer significance, because here we have the vision of Comrade Browder confirmed by developing events.

We have a great literature, Marxist classics, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, the works of Comrades Browder, Foster, and other comrades. Yes, we can still do a great deal from the Center to help; but self-study on a more systematic basis, stimulating others to engage in self-study, will encourage them to remain in the Party, and they will become a force among the workers, in the unions, in the mass organizations, in the factories.

Of course, we should stress the problem of unit education, of special training forms for Party members in the units, to make things simpler, with diagrams and visual forms which are being developed today—not to make things as difficult as possible but as simple as possible.

FOR MORE PROGRESS IN OUR METHODS OF WORK

With regard to the drawing of members into activities. Let us first resolve that we will not burden new members with activities that are unsuited to them, that we will not add new burdens to them. Let us make them feel that by becoming members of the Party they are able better to carry on the work where they are already carrying it on—in the shops, unions, mass organizations. If we do that, if they find the Party activity a means for new evaluations of their work so that they can be more effective where they are working now, we will also help to overcome the fluctuation in our Party. Not all Party comrades can do the same kind of work. We must take into account differences, personal responsibilities, and so on, in making assignments. The principle must be that every comrade must find his own activity, that he must

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feel the Party helping him in his every-day activity rather than overburdening him. This calls for a minimum of inner meetings, for Party meetings to be fruitful and educational, for business to be businesslike, brief, and to the point, by all of which the new comrade would realize that the Party exists for the purpose of equipping him to carry on effectively on the field of battle.

As to the question of democracy and methods of work, we have made much progress; and now the problem is to check up everywhere, to make this progress uniform. We need American methods of work. Meetings must start on time. How many American workers get discouraged when a meeting is called for eight o'clock and starts at a quarter to nine! This goes also for leading speakers and leading comrades generally. In my case, for instance, I show up a few minutes before time, sometimes before the audience. It is not my fault that I arrive before the audience, but my business is to come on time; and this also goes for the other comrades. When the audience learns that the speaker comes on time, they too will learn to come on time. They are still affected by past experiences.

We must plan our agendas. Not when the meeting starts should we begin battling out an agenda. The agenda should be planned in advance, whether by the organizer or the bureau. That is the American method, and that is what the American workers are accustomed to, in their lodges and other organizations. We must have democratic procedure. Not only in principle, like some bourgeois organizations, but in fact. In this respect, we will at the next convention bring our constitution up-to-date, which we hope the convention will adopt. This will be very helpful in establishing democratic procedure. We must have short reports. When a worker comes to the meeting at eight, he expects it to be through at ten. This can be done, with reports that are short and to the point, given in plain language. The issues should be vital, so that the meeting bears on what is going on in the community. For instance, during a week when there is a struggle on taxation in your community, and when the unit takes up the question of the Lenin Memorial meeting, and the Party Builders Congress, and does not take up anything about the question of taxation, the workers will feel there is something wrong.

THE FORMS OF OUR BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

A word as to organizational forms. We have already emphasized the necessity for building our Party more and more in correspondence to the political sub-divisions of state organizations, counties, cities, Congressional wards, and precincts as much as possible. With regard to the basic Party organization units, we have three basic forms: shop units, industrial units, and street branches, which we have built in many localities. We find that just as a year ago, or two years ago, comrades discovered that the industrial unit was a panacea for all their problems today some are saying: we must do away with industrial units. The truth of the matter is, they were not a panacea then, and they are not ruining us today. The truth of the matter is, we must be flexible enough

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to study the organizational form each situation demands; and where industrial units serve our purposes, to continue them, and where they do not, to change them. We are not going to make decisions on the issue. We will continue the flexible policy and examine the cases, in each case determining where they are suitable and where they are not.

Let us mention some points that indicate certain problems; first of all, we must remark that in some districts there has been a feeling that the shop units are not so important any more. That is not true; it cannot be true. I rather always like to look at our brother Party in France. I always envy our French comrades when I hear that they have a shop nucleus of six to seven thousand in one of the auto plants. That is what I would like to see in the Ford plant, for instance. That is exactly what we are building for, when we talk of shop organization in the large auto plants, in steel, textile, and similar large-scale plants. Shall we give up such organization? The answer is *no*—a thousand times *no!* On the contrary, let us improve our work in the factories, which means more attention to shop papers and shop issues, more attention to factory problems, to trade union work. In this way, make the Party in the shop a fighting force, an indispensable force in the struggle of the life of the workers in that factory. If there has been any tendency to minimize this work, let us quickly crush that tendency, because it is a completely wrong tendency.

We must also recognize the great importance of the neighborhood organizations, the wards, the precincts, particularly because of the growth of independent labor parties, of the American Labor Party, of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which require the mobilization of the Party in the election precincts or wards where the comrades live. In this respect, we have probably to allow comrades who belong to shop nuclei, or to industrial units, and who also should participate in the localities where they live, and where they should vote, to be in touch with the neighborhood work. True, this is a problem for the bigger cities mainly. In my opinion, we shall have to adopt a form enabling the comrades to attend some meetings of the neighborhood, and we shall have to arrange the shop unit work, or industrial branch work, to make it possible for the comrades to attend at least once a monh, or once in two months, certain bigger meetings, while still continuing to pay dues to the shop or industrial units, and functioning there in the main. In this way, we will draw them closer also to the problems of the comrades in the neighborhoods, where they are organized in labor clubs, Labor's Non-Partisan League, and similar organizations.

EFFECTIVE METHODS OF MASS AGITATION

In connection with our mass agitation. Our discussion so far has already dealt with the question, in the report of Comrade Hudson, the reports of district organizers. In fact, most of the comrades dealt with this question, brought to the fore by the fact that the masses are moving to the Left, which is an indication of the greater struggles; the campaign of reaction increases, accompanied by intensified

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demagogy, and by the poison activity of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites.

This requires that our Party shall develop on the broadest scale intense agitation and propaganda and carry on a struggle against the Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, to show to the masses their true face, and to drive them out of every labor and progressive organization. The present campaign of Red-baiting emphasizes the need to explain to the masses the position of the Party on all vital questions of the day and our program of socialism. It requires that, even more than heretofore, we popularize the rich American revolutionary, democratic traditions and the truth of Comrade Browder's slogan, "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism."

We must develop ever more effective methods of mass agitation, not only mass meetings, leaflets, our press, pamphlets, but also visual education, movies, slides, theaters, the radio, various cultural activities, etc., all of the new methods that are used by all modern organizations in their propaganda and agitation.

With regard to our press. Certainly, the Central Committee recognizes the importance of extending our press, the sacrifices that our Party has made in the collection of funds. We have launched two new dailies. But we must admit this basic contradiction in our Party: The *Daily Worker* has increased very little in circulation during the whole time of this gigantic recruiting campaign, which drew so many workers into our Party. Is this a normal situation? How can we explain it?

Yes, it is true, we can and we must improve still further the content of our press, answer the problems in even more simple language, provide arguments to our Party comrades and to the Left-wing workers and other readers of our press. But, certainly, the *Daily Worker* is a much improved paper, a paper which does provide answers to the problems.

This Congress and the Central Committee have resolved on the question that we must decide that, of equal importance to the problem of recruiting, we must once and for all place the question of building the circulation of the *Daily Worker,* the *Sunday Worker,* the *People's World,* the *Midwest Record.* We will not be able to extend our work for further recruiting unless we solve this task as well.

ON OUR WORK IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The next problem I want to deal with is the work in the mass organizations. We must improve the political quality of our work and the organizational activities of all Party members in the trade unions, the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and in the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Workers Alliance, the Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, the Farmers' Union and all other cultural, professional, peace, and women's organizations, as well as of the people organized in the various societies and fraternal organizations and national groups. We must here emphasize that we must assume more responsibility for building these organizations, not merely to become policy-makers. Only in that way will we win the confidence and trust of the masses.

In connection with this, there must come a complete change in our frac-

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tion system. We are already on the way to abolishing the Party general fractions. When our Party was young, when our ideology was not spread among the masses, when we were still hammering out our basic position, when we had three or four comrades in an organization, the fractions were necessary. But we have developed now, we have a united Party, our influence is felt, the masses are moving to the Left now, and the problems and tasks now, the conditions today, are such that we must lead, not through organized fraction work, but through Communist understanding, work, and Communist responsibility of every Communist in the organizations. This does not mean we shall not expect every Communist to act like a Communist. On the contrary, we will be having less of these meetings, and this will make it possible for every Communist to attend his unit meetings, take up educational work, and give the masses not merely organizational direction, but political guidance, and help educate the great masses of the workers to follow the Communist Party.

WORK AMONG THE NATIONAL GROUPS

A word about the national groups. Every day the importance of work among the national groups becomes more clear. In addition to our estimation of this work, we must still record, unfortunately, that despite considerable progress in the last year or two, many of our national group bureaus still suffer from sectarianism: the comrades have not yet become acquainted with the new climate of the country, the new movements. The masses of these national groups are affected by the sharpening struggle, the building of the trade unions, the growing struggle against reaction and for peace. This places new tasks and new responsibilities in the work of the national groups. In recruiting, we have made progress among these groups, yet not sufficiently. For example, even in an organization like the I.W.O., which is a more progressive organization, the percentage of recruiting is not good enough. This organization, which has a growing number of natives in the English section, consists, so far, largely of workers in the national groups. There are tens of thousands that can be recruited right now from such groups, who know the role of our Party, and follow it. I have an example in my own experience. When the recruiting drive began I went to speak at a meeting of Polish comrades in the Pittsburgh disrict. At the conclusion of my talk, a Polish comrade got up and spoke about the Polish I.W.O. branch in Butler, Pa., where there wasn't a single Party member. In my summary I dealt with this question. Two months later when I came back this comrade again took the floor and reported that there were fifteen Party members in Butler. The difference between one and fifteen, not only in one town, but in many Butlers all over the country, will give you an idea of how many Party members can be recruited from the I.W.O. And what is true about the I.W.O. is true of millions of workers in other fraternal organizations. The fascists are active among these national groups. The church has influence among them, and the church itself must become a field for our activity. We must extend our influence among

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the Czechs, among the Poles in Chicago, among the Italians in New York, whose role is increasing. The American Labor Party in New York has made tremendous progress in winning the Italians from the fascist ideology. In order to fulfil this task, it is necessary to root out the remnants of sectarianism, improve the leadership of our bureaus, the editorial boards of the language press, to teach the comrades to utilize the rich traditions of these national groups. In this way we will be better able to extend our influence among these people. The Central Committee calls for more concentration on the Poles, the Germans, the Jews, the Italians, the Jugoslavs, and the Spanish people, without, of course, neglecting, but rather improving, our work among all other national groups.

PROMOTION OF LEADING PERSONNEL

Now, some remarks on the problems of leadership and methods of work. The growth of the Party, the increased and complicated tasks before us, demand a more rapid and bolder policy in selecting, promoting, educating, and carefully verifying all our leading personnel. I would like to say a few words on the question of promoting. Comrade Browder has time and again emphasized the question, and, as on all questions, he has educated our Party in the teachings of Leninism as applied to the conditions of our country. In one case, Comrade Browder, speaking on this question of boldly promoting cadres, quoted from Lenin as follows:

"We must extend the ranks of our army, transfer it from a peace to a war strength, mobilize the reservists, call up all those on furlough, organize new auxiliary corps, units, and services. We must not forget that in war it is inevitable and necessary to fill the ranks with less trained recruits, very often to put rank-and-file soldiers in the place of officers, and to speed up and simplify the promotion of soldiers to the rank of officers." *

It is in this spirit that we must now more boldly take up the question of promotion of personnel, which we need more and more because of the expanding number of members and the increased work of the units and mass organizations. Have we the people? That was answered time and again by Comrade Browder. Let us consider this: You heard Comrade Steve Nelson today. Comrade Nelson, of course, was a leading comrade of our Party, working in various capacities in different districts, in organizational and political work; but surely we must admit, on the basis of Comrade Nelson's record in Spain, that the Central Committee itself can develop a much bolder policy in the promotion of personnel. There are others. Comrade Bill Lawrence, for example. One more example—Comrade Johnny Gates, the Y.C.L. Section Organizer in Youngstown. In the U.S. he was just a comrade, a Y.C.L.'er and in Youngstown. So we did not think of promoting Comrade Gates. But Comrade Gates in Spain has become one of the most outstanding political and organizational leaders, solving the most difficult problems, involving vast numbers of people, right on the field of battle. There is a lesson for us. Have we the people? We have! Comrade Browder, in the same report on leadership, basing himself once more on the speech of Comrade Dimitroff on

* *The People's Front*, by Earl Browder, p. 57. International Publishers, New York.

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the question of how to select personnel, declares:

"What are the main points of a consistent personnel policy? Comrade Dimitroff gave the four leading thoughts on the question of the standards to apply in selecting and promoting leading personnel. These points are:

"1. Absolute devotion to the working class, loyalty to the Party, tested in struggle and under the enemy's persecution.

"2. Closest possible contact with the masses; only if the masses accept a person as a leader can the Party do so.

"3. Ability to make decisions, to find the correct course independently, to take responsibility and initiative.

"4. Discipline and steadfastness in the struggle against the class enemy, as well as against all deviations from the Party line.

"Some of our comrades, who in the past have thought of the qualities of leadership largely in terms of speaking and writing, will be astonished to find these qualifications not mentioned in these four main points. We must finally learn, through the Party, that speaking and writing well are of importance *only* when developed upon the foundation of the four points of Dimitroff." *

I would like to read, comrades, what I consider one of the most important conributions of Comrade Browder to us Party leaders. He says also to us:

"The best policy in the world means nothing more than the people who carry it out. That means we must improve our people. Each and every one of us must assume the task of improving his own work, raising himself to a higher level, getting a greater command of the problems of the movement in which we deal. Everyone of us must assume the task of helping someone else to accomplish the same purpose. That is the essence of what we mean by the Party policies directed toward developing the leading personnel.

"We want no boasting. We want no inflated egos in our movement. We want no self-satisfaction, no resting on our laurels. We want confidence, determination, skill, pride in the great honor of Party membership; we want hard work to win confidence and respect of the broadest masses of workers and toilers in the determination to create around our Party such a great body of people with firm confidence in us that no enemy can attack us without rallying millions to our defense." *

It is in this spirit, in the words of Comrade Browder, that we must go forward, to pay greater attention to the Marxist-Leninist training of leaders, from the basic organizations—the units—as well as district leaders, and to develop a new corps of leaders for work among the Negroes, the youth, the women, the farmers, etc., through Party schools, through self-study, through increasing functionaries' meetings—to create leaders who know how to combat the danger that very often accompanies the growth of the Party through the most reactionary forces securing influence upon certain cadres through certain measures of corruption. Our cadres must be in the forefront, steeled and educated. They must be equipped to recognize and destroy alien ideologies, especially those of the Lovestoneites-Trotskyites.

To lead effectively, in all districts, in all our work, to make our Party truly a mass Party, we must further strengthen the collective work and leadership of our Party, improve our work through Bolshevik self-criticism, overcome all remnants of sectarianism in the development of our policies in the present situation, at the same time, being on guard against tendencies of tail-endism and forgetting the

* *Ibid*, pp. 55-56.

* *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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role of our Party and our program. And, as Comrade Browder said: "No self-satisfaction," but rather let us weld still further the unity and discipline of our Party; develop in every one of our comrades an alertness and vigilance on all problems affecting the life of the Party and the mass movements. When we find the necessity to discuss differences on matters of tactics, of policies, let us discuss them in a friendly and collective manner, in order rapidly to overcome such differences. And, finally, let us assimilate more consciously and more quickly master the lessons of Comrade Stalin's leadership, so gloriously exemplified in the Bolshevik Party and its world historic achievement of building the socialist society.

* * *

CONCLUDING SPEECH

COMRADES, our four days of discussion and deliberations are coming to a close. We all, of course, feel that in this important gathering we have had a handicap due to the absence of our General Secretary and leader, Comrade Browder. We hope that we have done everything within our power to deal adequately with the problems before us, and that we have accomplished our main tasks. Of course, we can say that in this gathering we felt both the absence and the presence of Comrade Browder. We have felt the lack of his direct participation, his contributions, his sharpening of the various questions which only he, in his own way, can do. But at the same time we have felt his presence. The fact that we have been able to carry on as we have, without his personal guidance and presence, is in itself the best tribute to the type of leadership Comrade Browder provides to our Party. This is proof that he is training the Party cadres, educating them on how to meet the problems and how to work effectively and collectively. It should be an example to our Party throughout the country in the building of leadership.

There is no need for me, and I will not undertake this task, to try to summarize all the political discussion which we have had in the first few days of our sessions and the discussion today. In addition to the report of Comrade Hathaway on the 1938 election tasks, we have had the supplementary reports and the great contributions of Comrades Foster and Bittelman, the reports of Comrade Ford, Comrade Brown, and Comrade Hudson, which together have rounded out the report of the Political Bureau.

We have had important contributions to the discussion from numerous district organizers and members of the Central Committee. Any questions which require further emphasis or further clarification we will take up in the coming days and weeks through the resolutions which will be published and the discussions that will be carried on in connection with our Party Convention. We can say that the discussion established complete unity on the political line; it established the fact that the Party is more and more facing the actual, basic problems of the people; and because of its clarity, boldness, and effectiveness, the Party is able to a greater extent than ever before to rally masses to its support and to help create the broadest possible movements against reaction and for peace.

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We can particularly emphasize that the contributions of comrades show their work to be taking on more and more of a concrete character, facing the problems in their localities, without losing account of the major tasks and objectives of our Party program; truly establishing in our work the unity of theory and practice.

We must, before we depart to our various districts, bear in mind the important developments that have taken place, that have come to light, that have been dramatized during the very time that we were in session. In the last few days we have heard Hitler's war call against democracy and socialism. A few days previous, we read the historic declaration of Comrade Stalin, his appeal to the working class and the peace forces of the world. One of the journalists, Duranty, writing from Moscow, called it good timing. It is more than good timing. Comrade Stalin did not have to wait, like some diplomats, to hear from the lips of Hitler what the plans of fascism are. Comrade Stalin, with his genius and keen analysis of world events, has this time, as always, called the attention of the working class and all of humanity to the dangers they are facing, the catastrophe which must be averted. He has also warned, if you recall, against all sorts of tricks that will be used by the enemies, by the fascists, and those who directly support them.

We see before us events of great importance, and we face the task today of hastening the unification of the working class and the peace forces to halt aggression. This is the significance of this historic document from the pen of Comrade Stalin. Already we see before us also dramatic signs of the possibility of the greater gathering of labor and all the peace forces, as for example, in Great Britain. The resignation of Eden and perhaps other defections in the Chamberlain Cabinet are only symptoms of the rising resentment of the masses, of the working class and large sections of the middle class of Great Britain, and sections of the bourgeoisie, including some conservative elements opposed to capitulation to fascism. This opens before us new possibilities in our country in the struggle for collective security, for collective action, for unmasking, as never before, the true role of the opponents of collective security, whether open reactionaries, or pacifists, or the Norman Thomases and the like.

It has become clear today to those who only want to see a little, that all talk about the third road is only a maneuver, intended to disarm the masses and insure the victory of fascism. There are only two roads—one, capitulation to fascism, and the other, collective resistance to maintain peace. This is what we fight for, what we must fight for as never before.

We must go out of this meeting armed with the results of our discussion, with the clarity of line, unity of purpose, courage, boldness, and determination to mobilize the millions in America along the road of collective resistance, collective action of the forces of democracy and peace in the United States, the rising movement in Great Britain and France, jointly with the Soviet Union and the smaller nations, the colonial people, as the only possible action to save humanity from the slaughter which is now being

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planned by Hitler and the fascists throughout the world.

We face these events with all seriousness and concern, but with great optimism and confidence. Let us never forget that. We have nothing in common with those gentlemen who become panicky and then translate their panic into capitulation before the enemy. We have confidence in the masses. We know that the difficulties in the British Cabinet reflect the mass sentiment in Britain and the labor movement in the first place. We have confidence in the American people. We have confidence in the working class movement throughout the world. And we have the greatest confidence and assurance, because of the existence of the mighty Soviet Union —a bulwark of peace. We have confidence and strength because of the world Communist movement and the leadership of Stalin, from whom we have learned to expect victory after victory in our struggles.

But we don't just wait for victory to drop into our lap. We have to fight for that victory, organize for that victory. More than ever, we will go out and fight for working class unity in the same spirit that Comrade Nelson pointed out our Party fought for unity and action with the Anarchist and Socialist workers in Spain. We will emphasize, not differences (although we will not ignore them, because we have to shape a correct policy), but points of agreement. We will make all efforts to establish the broadest unity in the labor movement in this critical moment. And with this strength and unity of the labor movement we will build simultaneously the broadest democratic front of all those who stand for peace and democracy.

Simultaneously, increasing our effectiveness and strength these are the guarantees for victory. Upon our shoulders in this country falls a great responsibility today—to win the United States, this powerful country of ours, in the interests of the American people, and at the same time serve the interests of all humanity; to win this great country of ours for the policy of collective security, of concerted action against war. This will be our greatest contribution in the best traditions of our country, to the well being and progress of humanity. This will be the greatest contribution that we can make to ourselves and to the entire world, a task to which we must give everything in our power.

Clearly, in the light of this task, though greatly encouraged by the discussion here, the strength and confidence in our Party and in ourselves to accomplish things, we must not go out with any feeling of self-satisfaction, but rather of a sense of our tremendous tasks; we will not be overburdened with these tasks but confident that we will face them successfully.

THE CONGRESS OF PARTY BUILDERS

A few words about our Builders' Congress. We can say that the first National Party Builders' Congress is an historic event in the life of our Party. Our Party is becoming more Party-building-conscious; it is becoming, as many comrades put it, recruiting-conscious.

The task before us is to make this consciousness embrace the entire Party membership. Many of the comrades who have spoken here have shown us

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what kind of Party we are; what kind of Party we are becoming—a Party linked to the masses more and more, which knows and takes up the problems of the masses, which lives among the masses, learns from them, teaches them, fights with them, leads them into struggle and to victory.

Our comrades, as individual Communists, are discovering a personal approach to the workers, that a worker is not some object to be sought as an abstract recruit so that we can have better statistics or a higher amount of dues payments; but that he is a human being who is struggling, fighting, learning by experience, looking for a way out, making contact with our Party through its activity. The large number of workers coming closer to us, ready to become part of us, recognize in us their natural organization—the Party of their class, the Party of the working class.

We have had many important examples of good work. We talk, for example, of the great masses of Catholic workers; we talk of the Coughlin movement. Here, before us, today stood a comrade from Philadelphia, who showed us what we can do. After all, we are the Party that is out to win the majority, the great masses. And how are we going to win that majority unless we win the Democratic Party workers, the Republican Party workers, middle-class people, farmers, religious workers of all kinds, yes, including the Catholics, of whom there are tens of millions? Can we become a Party of the working class, a majority Party, without winning the Catholic workers? Very often you will find that those who become organized in a movement such as the Coughlin movement, themselves misled by the fascists, are the very ones who are dissatisfied, who are looking for a way out, who, unfortunately, are trapped. If we can get to them, talk to them, as the comrade from Philadelphia did, work with them and convince them, we will record here soon, not isolated cases, but millions of Catholic people of this country coming to our side.

Similarly important are the lessons that the comrades presented on how to win the women. There was an excellent example of the old proverb, charity begins at home. Organize your wife first, and the rest will be easier. Our white and Negro comrades have given examples of how white workers and farmers are recruiting Negro people, and at the same time, how Negroes recruit white people. You recall that one comrade pointed out how in one shop, after the C.I.O. was organized and everyone else felt it was not possible to get the whites in, a Negro worker, with a simple, common-sense approach, was able to win the white workers to the side of the union, to the side of struggle. The comrade from Flint, I think, gave us a picture of our strength and our weaknesses. He traced, so to speak, the history of our Party in Flint. We were afraid to approach the workers; we did not know how, until the workers began to approach us and convince us that we need not be afraid, that they were ready to find us, follow us, and join our Party. The need to educate, explain our position —all this was most vividly mirrored in his remark.

We have learned a great deal, all of us; the Central Committee and Politi-

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cal Bureau members feel they have learned particularly a great deal from the Party builders. We have seen comrades, workers born before our very eyes, effective organizers, with initiative, ingenuity, yes, the cadres that our Party needs in this growing movement. We have seen and heard from their own lips that the masses are ready for us. Very often we say we lag behind, that we underestimate the Leftward movement of the masses; but here we have examples of how, in practice, we actually underestimate the readiness of the workers. This is a big lesson to us: that we are still very far from realizing the influence our Party exerts.

Bearing these two things in mind—the growing ability of our comrades as mass organizers, agitators, and fighters among the masses, bearing in mind the readiness of the workers, we can say today that we do not merely set ourselves the perspective and the task of becoming a mass Party. On the eve of the Party Convention, when we will launch the broadest educational campaign of the Party—political discussions which we should not limit to the Party but bring to the broad masses—when we prepare to launch the 1938 election campaign, we set ourselves the task immediately of building a mass Communist Party in the United States.

IN THE APRIL ISSUE

Next month's issue of *The Communist* will contain, among other articles, the following:

FASCIST WORLD POLICY AND THE IMMINENT WAR DANGER, by W. Z. Foster

REVIEW OF THE MONTH, by A. B.

FASCIST PENETRATION IN LATIN AMERICA, by Samuel Putnam

REVIEW OF EARL BROWDER'S *The People's Front*, by V. J. Jerome

CLERICAL WORKERS BUILD THEIR UNION, by Leonard Duncan

THE "WHITE" SOUTH AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY *

BY ROY HUDSON

THE negotiations between the representatives of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. marked a further advance in the fight for trade union unity. Even though these negotiations did not lead to unity, they served to strengthen the fight for a united labor movement. It is to the credit of the leadership of the C.I.O. that these discussions and advances were made possible. It is to the undying shame of the A. F. of L. Executive Council that the negotiations failed to re-establish unity, and that, in trying to block the road to unity, they have deepened the split with their expulsion of the U.M.W.A. and two other C.I.O. unions.

All these developments serve to emphasize again the importance and significance of the C.I.O., the reactionary character of the policies pursued by the Executive Council and the importance of the steps that must be taken to secure the realization of trade union unity.

For the trade union movement and the forces of progress in this country, the significance of the C.I.O. does not lie alone in the fact that it succeeded in doing what the A. F. of L. leadership had failed to do—organize millions of workers in the basic industries.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE C.I.O.

That millions have been organized in steel, auto and other industries by the C.I.O. is an unchallengeable fact. That the success of the C.I.O. organizational campaign stimulated and made possible the growth of the craft unions also cannot be denied. The organization of 500,000 Negroes since the birth of the C.I.O. is not the least of its achievements. In making open shop industries strongholds of unionism; in helping the workers conclude agreements that increased their purchasing power by millions of dollars; in helping unite all democratic forces on the political field, the C.I.O. has made real contributions to the welfare of the nation and the defense of its democratic institutions. These are achievements of great importance. And of even greater importance are the policies that have guided the millions organized in the C.I.O., and the influence of these progressive policies on the A. F. of L. rank and file, and on certain sections of the farmers, professional and middle-class people.

* Report delivered at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., and National Party Builders Congress, held in New York, February 18-21, 1938.

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In recent months, the decisive role of the C.I.O. in influencing events in the country has increased.

Today is 1938 and not 1930. Even though big business and finance capital have resorted to economic sabotage, have thrown millions out of work, have hastened the maturing of another crisis, they have not caused demoralization of the workers nor capitulation of the C.I.O le.adership to the demands of the employers. Big business has not succeeded in blackjacking labor into abandoning support of New Deal policies; into a return to Hooverism; into acceptance of wage cuts. In 1930, wage cuts in steel inaugurated sweeping wage cuts for all industries. But in 1938, when the C.I.O. said, on behalf of the steel workers: "No wage cuts," big business knew that this expressed the sentiments and determination, not only of the steel workers, but of the membership of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. workers. Furthermore, the agreements recently concluded by the Eastern seamen, under the banner of the C.I.O., providing important wage increases and improved working conditions, show that, in the midst of this depression, not only will the workers fight to maintain their recent gains but, where their strength permits, will demand a greater share of the results of their labor.

Is it not a far cry from the days of 1930, when the truce entered into by the A. F. of L. leadership, with Hoover and the employers, developed into non-resistance to the wage cutting drive? And, in endorsing the big business demands for reduction of taxes on their profits, at its Miami meeting, the Executive Council showed that its policies have changed little from 1930. Yes, without exaggeration, we can say that the situation in the country today would be much more to the liking of the economic royalists if there were no C.I.O.

Furthermore, the plans of big business to worsen wages, and weaken or smash the unions by increasing the army of unemployed have run into something they never encountered before—a trade union movement embracing four millions in the C.I.O. and wide sections of the A. F. of L., that has thrown its full support behind the slogans—*The Right to Work; Jobs or Adequate Relief for Every Unemployed.* Contrast the unemployed activities being initiated by every C.I.O. union and many A. F. of L. unions, cooperation with the Workers Alliance, or the great unemployed demonstration recently led by the Auto Workers Union in Detroit, with the shameful abandonment of the unemployed by the A. F. of L. leadership in 1930 and its present pitifully inadequate unemployed program.

The difference between today and 1930 is also reflected on the political field. Democracy is being challenged more than ever by the growth of reactionary forces, which are now sabotaging the New Deal program and preparing for a return to power in 1938-40. On the other hand, there is a growing unity of the forces of democracy and progress—labor, the farmers, the professional and small business people in the struggle against monopoly capital. Has not the C.I.O. played a major role in the growth of this movement, in helping defeat reaction in 1936, in New York in 1938, in organizing labor's political strength

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through the Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party?

Thus the C.I.O., while advancing and safeguarding the interests of its own membership, has also become, through its very existence and the policies of its leadership, a major factor in the affairs of the nation; influencing all sections of the labor and progressive movement; helping bring about the unity of all progressive forces to bar the growth of reaction, to defend democracy and the cause of world peace.

THE BLOCKING OF UNITY—WHO IS TO BLAME?

Naturally, in view of these facts, great importance must be attached to the policies of the C.I.O. on the question of labor unity. The abandonment of policies which have had such wide effects upon developments in this country, or the weakening of the forces supporting these policies would have meant sacrificing the interests of labor and progress. It was precisely this that was demanded by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in the negotiations. It was their insistence on these points that prevented unity from being realized. The unity proposals of the C.I.O.—recognition of industrial unionism in the mass production industries, and acceptance of all C.I.O. unions into the A. F. of L.—which were again emphasized by John L. Lewis at the Miners' Convention were and are proposals that serve to protect the interests of all labor. These proposals reflect the sentiment of the A. F. of L. membership, and show that the membership of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. have no conflicting interests.

We Communists join all other progressives in expressing disappointment with the failure of the negotiations and in expressing the conviction that in spite of this fact efforts to restore unity must be intensified. However, we cannot agree with the Old Guard Socialists, and others, when they state, in reference to the policies pursued in the negotiations, that "to further argue over the claims and merits of this labor war appears futile." This argument is but admission that their former attempts to hide the responsibility of the A. F. of L. leadership for collapse of the negotiations have fallen flat. It constitutes another attempt to whitewash the Executive Council. Further efforts to establish unity will be futile if the trade union movement does not clearly recognize the reasons why unity has not been established to date.

What can be said of the arguments that the "undemocratic" methods of some of the C.I.O. leaders were a contributing factor in the failure to establish unity? Certainly, our memories are not so bad as to forget that it was the A. F. of L. leadership that caused the split by undemocratically suspending the C.I.O. unions; and that it was the C.I.O. which has proposed that the split be healed through the exercise of democratic process—a Unity Convention.

We must also express surprise that the slanders of the Executive Council that the C.I.O. has been "raiding established A. F. of L. unions" have been picked up by the so-called friendly critics of the C.I.O., who assert that these "raiding" policies made it more difficult to arrive at agreement in the negotiations on the jurisdic-

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tion of many C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions.

Well, did the C.I.O. raid the seamen's union in the East and Gulf, or did the strike-breaking, undemocratic policies of the A. F. of L. leaders force these 50,000 seamen to organize a new union and seek C.I.O. affiliation as the only means of securing recognition and support of their rights? Were the thousands of loggers in the Northwest seduced by John L. Lewis, or, in voting for C.I.O. affiliation, did they express their opposition to Hutcheson's policy of taxation without representation? Did not the Newspaper Guild, the West Coast Longshoremen's Union and other unions which have affiliated to the C.I.O. do so because they were in disagreement with the undemocratic, reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. leadership and were unwilling to support the Executive Council in its war upon principles which these organizations supported? Clearly, here is no question of "jurisdiction," but one of restoring democracy, of accepting the policies of industrial unionism, and of establishing a united trade union movement on these principles.

After profound thought, the *Socialist Call* has found the "clash of personalities, the ambitions of individuals" a major reason for the failure of the unity negotiations. Expressing the same idea, but more openly, Mr. Green and others charge that the "dictatorial ambitions" of John L. Lewis were the stumbling blocks in the road to unity. The same argument, in another form, is advanced by the Trotskyite-Socialist-influenced Harry Lundberg, when he advocates "independence of the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. controversy which is just a struggle of reactionary leaders for control of the labor movement," to cover up his flirtations with and support of the A. F. of L. leadership.

Yes, personalities and their ambitions to control the labor movement were and are factors responsible for the continued division in the ranks of labor. But who are these persons? Those people—the Wolls, Hutchesons, Greens, and Whartons—who expelled the C.I.O. rather than accept the principle of industrial unionism. Those craft union bureaucrats who would refuse to see the A. F. of L. strengthened by 4,000,000 workers, unless these workers entered the A. F. of L. in such a manner as would leave the control of the labor movement by those bourbons unchallenged.

To evade the question: *Whose ambitions* are blocking unity?—weakens the fight for unity, because silence on this questions conceals the fact that the Executive Council has not retreated one inch in its opposition to industrial unionism, and that, after being forced to negotiate, it did so to conceal its continued reactionary position on this question. When Mr. Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. asserts that the Executive Council conceded industrial unionism in the negotiations and that this was no longer an issue, he, intentionally or unintentionally, played right into the hands of those responsible for blocking unity.

The proposition to readmit the ten original C.I.O. unions into the A. F. of L. meant nothing more than granting that which was already established two years ago. The question is: What is the position now of the craft

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unionists in regard to the other basic industries? The unwillingness of the Executive Council, in the case of the auto and steel industries, to grant jurisdiction to the unions that have already organized these workers shows that the craft union bureaucrats have not yet relinquished jurisdictional claims over workers they have *never* organized. Considering this, then the refusal of the A. F. of L. leadership to readmit the 4,000,000 workers organized in the C.I.O. unions, and settle all jurisdictional questions in a democratic convention, can only mean that the Freys, Wolls and Whartons are determined to destroy first the organizational form that made possible the organization of these workers. To reaffiliate the original C.I.O. unions without deciding the fate of the other twenty-two unions would only mean splitting the C.I.O. and betraying these unions to the mercy of the reactionaries. To mark time until the question of each individual C.I.O. union has been negotiated with craft union leaders, whose main claim to "jurisdiction" is not their efforts to organize but some God-given mandate from the Executive Council, would be only to demobilize the fight for trade union unity, to weaken and disgust the workers with fruitless negotiations.

In view of these facts, it is clear that the object of the Executive Council was to repeat what they did to the masses who organized into Federal labor unions and then were split up into dozens of craft unions. The craft union bourbons wanted to turn back the hands of time; their position is the same as in 1935 and they want the labor movement to retreat to the same position.

THE BASIS FOR UNITY

Unity could have been, can be, and will be established only on the basis of guaranteeing the future organization of the unorganized, and of maintaining the strength of those now organized into the C.I.O. unions. This necessitates recognizing and accepting the principles of industrial forms of organization for the mass production industries. This was what the C.I.O. fought for at the 1935 A. F. of L. convention and insisted upon in the unity negotiations. This was what the Executive Council opposed at the 55th Convention and rejected in the unity negotiations.

We Communists were among the first to advocate industrial unionism. We have always supported the C.I.O. in its fight for these principles and its efforts to organize the unorganized on the basis of these policies. We have consistently fought to help defeat the opposition of the craft union leaders and bring about trade union unity on the basis of industrial unionism. Our fight has been a consistent and a principled one.

The C.I.O. proposals deserve the support of all sincere fighters for labor unity. The cause of unity would have been advanced if the position of the C.I.O. had met with full support from all other progressive forces. It is regrettable, therefore, that some who have otherwise contributed much in the growth of the C.I.O. and the fight for labor unity have, under the influence of the Old Guard Socialists, the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites, expressed vacillations or a confused position on these questions. To minimize the strength and achievements

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of the C.I.O., to engage in hasty or unjustified or slanderous criticism of the C.I.O. policies, to try to bolster up wrong arguments with Red-baiting, merely plays into the hands of those who are responsible for the split in the labor movement, by providing them with arguments that the C.I.O. policies have no support among the masses; by undermining confidence in the C.I.O. policies and the motives of its leadership; and by helping the Executive Council in its efforts to divide the C.I.O. by expelling only three of its unions.

Labor unity has not been achieved, but the fight for it has advanced. The threatened attacks of the reactionaries on the trade unions and the living conditions of the workers, the sabotage of the reactionaries in Congress—all increase the sentiment for unity to defeat these attacks. The failure of the peace negotiations and the expulsion of three C.I.O. unions make the rank and file of the A. F. of L. more conscious of the fact that they must throw their full weight behind the fight for unity. The initiative of the C.I.O. in the fight for trade union unity and its militant stand against wage cuts and in defense of the unemployed have won increased support for its policies from the rank and file and will make it more difficult for the Executive Council to carry through a "war to the finish against the C.I.O." *The sentiment for unity grows. Now the job is to give organized expression to this sentiment.*

The initiative of the C.I.O. and the sentiment of the A. F. of L. rank and file forced the Executive Council to enter into negotiations on the question of unity. Misplaced confidence, or lack of clarity upon the part of the A. F. of L. rank and file, made it possible for the Executive Council to use the negotiations to maneuver against unity and to try and divide the C.I.O. supporters.

Now, not just general sentiment, but organized support of the A. F. of L. rank and file for the unity proposals of the C.I.O. can prevent the Executive Council from continuing its splitting policy, and make possible the advancement of the fight for unity. Let the millions in the A. F. of L. give organized expression to their demand that negotiations be resumed; that the principles of industrial unionism be recognized; that a democratic convention of all unions be called to settle disputed questions, and the blockers of unity can be defeated.

The workers organized in the railroad industries can become a decisive force in the fight for unity, if their unions take an active part in helping promote united action on the economic and political field and in supporting the demand for a unity convention of all unions.

The enemies of unity must be further weakened by consolidating and strengthening the C.I.O. Pushing forward the campaign to organize the unorganized and maintaining the solidarity of the C.I.O. unions through Industrial Councils in cities and states, where these unions have been arbitrarily expelled from state and city bodies, is vital to advancing the fight for one trade union movement.

Unity of action between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, if achieved on a mass scale, will soon make possible unity of all labor in one federation. John L. Lewis recently made the

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proposal that a joint committee of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions be set up to insure joint action on all general questions. Although such unity is already being realized in many cities, the proposal was rejected by the Executive Council. Let this proposal be put into effect, in spite of their rejection, by organizing joint action of C.I.O. unions in strikes, in defense of the unemployed, for support of progressive legislation and in support of progressive candidates in the 1938 elections.

Never was unity of the labor movement more needed; the fight for trade union unity, for support of the progressive C.I.O. policies has reached the stage where it is an immediate question, the central question before all trade unions. No longer can the progressives subordinate this question and concern themselves with issues that only affect their own union. Unless the question of unity, in the form most suited to the given union, is the central slogan of the progressives, the movement in support of other progressive measures cannot be advanced. This is so because the position taken on this question will determine the position taken on other questions. If the progressives hesitate to take a stand on unity, under the mistaken idea that it is not an immediate question or that the workers are indifferent to this question, then the reactionaries will force them to take a defensive position, not only on this, but on all other problems before the trade unions.

FIGHTING DISRUPTION AND REACTION

As a result of the advances of labor the workers are everywhere facing more difficult and complicated questions, questions which in most cases go beyond the scope of their own job, their own union, their own relatively limited experiences. Because the trade union movement is concerning itself more with such questions the possibilities for tendencies and forces, which in the past have played no role in the life and struggle of the workers, to creep in and exert their influence, become greater. It is precisely when workers are dealing with questions that go beyond their past experiences that the Wobblies, the Lovestoneites, the Trotskyites and the present-day brand of Trotskyite Socialism, and even the Socialist Labor Party, are able to muscle in. The injection of splitting poison from these sources can be checked and prevented only if we do not minimize the activities of such groups; if we are politically alert enough to recognize the ideas that originate from such sources and prevent them from getting a toe-hold; and most important, if every Party member fully understands the importance of our whole People's Front policy and acquires the ability to convince the masses of our positions on trade union unity, independent political action, and that of collective security.

Further, the Tories and economic royalists are now trying to meet the advances of labor and the progressive movement, and our increased strength and influence with a counter-offensive. They center their attack on these major questions. By combining theories that originate all the way from the Trotskyites to the Socialists, together with Red-baiting, they try to create confusion on these issues and disrupt

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the unity of the progressives. The fact that their attack centers around issues which great masses of workers and their leaders are now just beginning to face and understand, demands a higher quality of work if this wave of Red-baiting is to be defeated. It is true that those whose stock in trade has been Red-baiting have suffered defeat time and again in recent years. But this does not mean that there is no longer any danger that the unity of the workers can be split with Red-baiting. Experience has shown that where the trade unionists and the people were clear on what they wanted, how to get it, and whom to defeat, they condemned Red-baiting as a weapon aimed to disrupt their joint struggle. But even so we should not draw the conclusion that all their deep-rooted prejudices and distrust have been entirely broken down. In any case the increased confidence the Communists have won can never be retained except through greater efforts on our part. From this it follows that Red-baiting and Red-baiters will be defeated to the extent that clarity is established on the questions of labor unity, the People's Front, the struggle for peace, and that the workers are won for correct policies on these questions. This means more work and better work than we have done in the past. It means struggle against so-called practical trade unionism and more insistence upon improving the Bolshevik quality of our work.

ESTABLISHING OUR CITIZENSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Furthermore, today we face the problem of making more rapid advances in establishing the citizenship of the Communists in the trade unions and developing the independent activities of our Party. How much more difficult has it become for the reactionaries in those unions where the workers know that some of the most trusted and capable leaders they have elected into office are Communists? On the other hand, is it not a fact that if we were to become mere conspiratorial cliques, especially in democratic progressive unions where the Red-baiting reactionaries exert no influence, it could only serve to arouse distrust among the workers? How many times is disruption created solely because the workers know there are Communists in their midst—but don't know who the Communists are? But the establishment of the right of Communists to belong to trade unions does not mean that we can expect our comrades in the trade unions to do what must be done directly by and through the Party organization. Individual Communists must necessarily confine themselves to the procedure and programs of the organizations of which they are members. This is not enough, because the reactionaries launch attacks against the program and policies of the Party, which can be counteracted only through the Party's popularizing and explainly more widely its policies and socialist principles. Is it not true that in many cases the continuous attacks of the reactionaries against the program and policies of the Party go unanswered? Is this not so because such simple questions as holding Party mass meetings, the distribution of our Party literature and building the circulation of the *Daily Worker,* and the functioning of the units are still underestimated and ne-

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glected in the course of our daily work?

How else can we explain the unopposed adoption of a resolution in the Auto Workers' Union that could only give aid to the Japanese war-makers and the opponents of collective security in this country? How else can we explain the outcome of the recent voting in the sea-faring unions on the Pacific Coast, which were and still are one of the most progressive sections of the American labor movement? Here, the whole struggle centered around the question of the C.I.O., labor unity, and the relationship of these unions to the rest of the maritime unions. What was the outcome? One union, the sailors, voted to remain independent of both the C.I.O. or A. F. of L.; in another, the firemen's, the membership voted for affiliation to the C.I.O., and elected a slate of officers, most of whom ran on an anti-C.I.O. platform. Further, in both unions, where the membership time and again has rejected Red-baiting, this year they nevertheless elected open Red-baiters and, at the same time, elected a few known Communists.

Making allowances for all difficulties, lack of forces, and secondary mistakes that might have been made, does not the outcome of the voting show considerable confusion among the rank and file, rather than sharp differences of opinion over the questions they were confronted with, and that the Communists and other progressives recognized the importance of major questions only in a formal sense and were unable to fight for their position in such manner as to convince the rank and file of the importance of these questions and the correctness of their policies?

Increasing the effectiveness of our work through greater understanding of our policies, a more critical approach to all phases of our activities, and more attention to the independent role of the Party, are essential if we are to contribute all in our power to win support for the policies of the C.I.O. and help bring about a united trade union movement. We place the fight for trade union unity as a central task because we know that a united trade union movement embracing 8,000,000 workers will enable a greater resistance to the growth and offensive of reaction; will make the organization of millions of unorganized workers quicker and easier. We know that a powerful, united trade union movement will make it easier for the working class to unite the farmers, the middle class and professional people in a common front to defeat the forces of reaction, fascism and war; to defend democracy and advance the cause of socialism.

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FOR CONCERTED ACTION_ AGAINST ISOLATION AND WAR! *

BY FRED BROWN

OUR struggle for peace is a long-range struggle. It involves the issue whether our policy will be victorious, the policy of the truly progressive forces the world over, or the policy of the fascists, of the reactionaries. It is a struggle that involves the future of the world.

The struggle for peace aims at stopping the fascist aggressors, to bring peace and maintain peace. In short, it is a struggle that aims to inflict the first deadly blow to fascism and prepare the ground for a happier future for humanity, through the maintenance and extension of democracy.

The possibilities of victory are great. We fully agree with President Roosevelt that 90 per cent of the people of the earth are for peace, which is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 per cent. The problem of the hour is how to mobilize the 90 per cent to stop Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists; how to mobilize the peace-loving masses to exercise such pressure upon their governments as will move them forward quickly and with determination to undertake concerted action against the war-makers, against the triple alliance of the fascist, anti-democratic bloc, which not only aims to attack the greatest democracy of the world—the Soviet Union—but the bourgeois-democratic countries as well. The problem of the hour is to bring about concerted action by the peace-loving nations, demanding the withdrawal of the invading armed forces of the war-makers, the stoppage of all supplies to the aggressors, and the enforcement of a substantial measure of disarmament that will put the aggressors on the spot.

There is no doubt that concerted action of the United States, France and Great Britain, plus the Soviet Union on the question of peace, would bring into line all governments of the non-fascist countries, would rally at once the peace-loving people of the world to exercise the most powerful pressure on the aggressors, and would encourage the forces of democracy in the fascist countries itself. Such concerted action would soon bring the aggressors to a stop, would end the attack against Spanish democracy, and against the Chinese people, would stop the wars going on and prevent the engulfing of the world

* Report made at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., and National Party Builders Congress, held in New York, February 18-21, 1938. (Condensed text.)

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into a new slaughter. But while the aggressors are moving quickly, desperately, we find the bourgeois democratic countries still divided, still maintaining a "neutral" position toward the democratic government of Spain, a position which helps the aggressors; still divided in relation to events in China.

CONTRADICTORY TRENDS AMONG THE BOURGEOISIE

While, on one hand, forces are at work to bring about an understanding between the non-fascist nations, other forces in the bourgeois-democratic camp are neutralizing the efforts for united action. A large current within the bourgeoisie, in fear that concerted action of the 90 per cent of the peace-loving people will be accompanied by a desire for more democracy, is testing the ground, measuring the forces of bourgeois democracy, to see if there is not a way out, by isolating the Soviet Union, by checking the mass peace movement of labor. This explains the barrage of attacks against the Soviet Union and against our Party in the bourgeois press, as well as the important role that the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites-Lovestoneites are playing as direct agents of reaction.

The bourgeoisie is taking up the allegation of the renegades that concerted action by the peace-loving people of the world, by the democratic countries, means to play Stalin's politics—the politics of the Soviet Union. For us it is clear that we cannot expect concerted action by the bourgeois-democratic governments, that we cannot expect the United States government to put into force the line of Roosevelt's Chicago speech, unless the peace-loving masses and especially labor, will take such a stand and give such support to the line of concerted action, to the struggle for collective security, that the bourgeois-democratic governments will be forced to act. In regard to the United States, it is the task of the peace-loving masses to make of this country the standard bearer among the nations in this crusade. Here we see at once the determining role that we must play as the driving force for the mobilization of labor, of the widest masses, as the only guarantee that concerted action will be put into effect.

At this point it is necessary to stress that the whole question of American foreign policy today depends basically on the stand of the labor movement in the country. It is the labor movement that at this particular moment, by not having as yet taken a clear stand in support of Roosevelt's peace policy, is still holding back the whole peace movement, thus preventing a rapid orientation of the peace-loving masses toward collective security as the only means to keep America at peace. This makes the isolationist forces in the administration itself bolder in their opposition to Roosevelt's declaration in behalf of quarantining the aggressors.

There is no doubt that the American people have become politically more mature. Today the vast majority, in one form or another, are not only in the anti-fascist camp, against the fascist aggressors, but are definitely for peace. This is proven by the position taken on fascism by the trade unions, by peace organizations, women's organizations, by the Federation of

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Protestant Churches, and even by the position of Catholic groups in relation to the persecution of the Catholic Church in Germany. This broad peace movement, however, is not yet homogeneous. The overwhelming majority of the American people are for peace, yet the largest part takes the isolation "neutrality" position as the means to maintain peace.

It is a position that, despite their intention, plays into the hands of the monopolistic forces at home and into the hands of the aggressors. A minority of the broad peace movement—a minority that is growing from day to day—understands the relation of the United States to the world situation from an economic and political point of view. This minority is becoming more and more conscious of the fascist danger. It understands that it is not sufficient to be against fascism in a platonic way, that fascism threatens a new world slaughter, that fascism is becoming a growing danger at home, that in stopping the aggressor lies the key to the problem of the preservation of democracy, that the only way to keep America out of war is to keep war out of the world.

THE ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

What is the role of the progressive forces in this situation? Specifically, what is the role of the labor movement? Here we witness a most glaring contradiction: A labor movement that goes on record against fascism, and even for the boycott of Japanese goods, that understands how fascism abroad is a stimulus for the crystallization of the reactionary forces at home, for the development of fascism in our own country, but yet supports the policy of "neutrality," of isolation, which plays directly into the hands of the aggressors, and prevents the position taken by Roosevelt in his Chicago speech from becoming the operative policy of the administration.

How can we explain such a contradictory position? It is due, first, to the fact that the labor movement traditionally deals to a minimum degree with broad international questions. While the trade union masses are, for example, greatly interested in the events of Spain and China, even the most progressive trade unions have not yet become a forum for discussions that would have broadened the outlook of the organized millions towards world events.

Because of this, we find that the false theories of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites-Lovestoneites, and the pseudo-Socialist contentions of Norman Thomas, filter into the ranks of labor and exercise a certain influence in holding back clarification on such vital issues. Furthermore, the leadership of the trade union movement, including the leaders of the progressive section, are not yet ideologically prepared to give leadership on the front of international politics to the same degree that they are giving leadership on other vital issues confronting the movement. Here we see immediately the big responsibilities that lie before us.

It is we Communists that must raise in the trade union movement, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, the question of peace in the light of collective security. This is essential not only to make of the labor movement the driving force in this struggle, but for the preservation of the trade union move-

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ment itself, because on the successful struggle against reaction, against war-breeding fascism, depends the security of the trade union movement and its future.

If we should fail to win the masses for the correct position that labor must take on the question of peace, we would face the danger that the gains made on the other fronts would be lost.

Wherever our forces have raised the question of collective security boldly, without hesitation, proving conclusively that the peace of America is connected intimately with peace on a world scale, the reaction of the masses was most favorable. This proves that the weakness of our position in the trade union field on the issue of peace is not due to lack of understanding of the working class as to its own interests, but mainly to the fact that we have not yet undertaken an offensive fight, that we have not demonstrated to the masses that collective security is the real road to peace.

Wherever our forces are active in the trade unions and other mass organizations, we have to prove conclusively that those forces which advocate isolationism, that advocate the Ludlow amendment, that oppose collective security, are playing directly into the hands of the aggressive powers—Japan, Italy, Germany. This is our main political task today.

There is no doubt that if our forces had a clearer understanding of the problem and were on the alert, the hundreds of thousands of organized automobile workers would not have tolerated the resolution adopted by the Executive Board of the Auto Workers Union, a resolution that calls for the removal of the armed forces from China, that endorses the Ludlow amendment and a general policy of isolation. This resolution condemns Japanese aggression and endorses the boycott of Japanese goods. But what does a condemnation of Japanese aggression mean, if it is coupled with an effort to prevent any action of the United States government aiming to bring about concerted action of the democratic countries, which is the only way of stopping the aggressors; when the resolution is an open attack even against Roosevelt's hesitant way of playing the role of a restraining factor on Japanese aggression? The insertion of a condemnation of Japan does not change the substance and effect of the resolution. It is a resolution that could be applauded by the Japanese militarists. When we consider who is behind the resolution, that Lovestone had his hand in the pie, it is not difficult to understand the motives that guided the drafting of such a document. The few phrases against fascism do not in the least hinder Japan from continuing its aggressive war against the Chinese people.

THE STAND OF THE U.M.W.A.

On the other hand, the resolution voted by the United Mine Workers' Convention is of a different character. Not only did it condemn fascism as the aggressor, and go on record for the boycott of Japanese goods, but, what is more important, it did not endorse the Ludlow amendment, it did not endorse the policy of isolation. What is the conclusion of the resolution voted by the miners? It reads:

"It is the expression of this convention

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that the foreign policy of the United States shall not be formulated or made dependent upon the protection of the vested or property interests in foreign countries, of the large corporations in this country. But rather such foreign policy should express the wholehearted desire of the American people for the greatest assurance of international peace."

Such a "resolve" is contained also in the resolution voted at the steel convention, as well as in the resolution of the Executive Board of the Auto Workers Union. The significant thing to note, however, is that in the resolution of the United Mine Workers' Convention, the same conclusion follows altogether different considerations. It is in this respect that the resolution of the miners, while not yet coming forward explicitly for collective security, is a step forward in the direction of concerted action. The Martin resolution, however, endorses the Ludlow amendment and a policy of isolation. The same final "resolve" in the latter resolution means to demand from the United States government a foreign policy in line with the isolationist position. In the resolution of the miners, on the contrary, because it does not endorse the Ludlow amendment, does not go on record for isolation, condemns fascism as the aggressor, endorses the boycott as a means of castigating the aggressors, the "resolve" must be understood as an appeal for a foreign policy that shall express the overwhelming desire of the American people for the greatest assurance of international peace. Certainly this resolution would have been improved if it had stated that only by concerted action of the anti-aggressor forces international peace could be maintained. It does not state this as yet, but is clearly moving in this direction.

Here we have a resolution that opens the way in the whole labor movement for a positive attack against isolation, against the whole conception that America can remain aloof from world events, that there is no distinction between the fascist aggressor powers and the bourgeois-democratic nations like the United States.

We will be successful in rallying the masses in the trade unions, the women's organizations, the youth, the Negro people, the national groups, to the extent that we will expose the various currents of isolationism, to the extent that the progressive forces of the country will be armed with the arguments that will convince the majority of the American people that the policy of collective security is the only correct peace policy.

FORCES HINDERING THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Which are the various forces that try to keep back the true struggle for peace, that hide their counter-revolutionary content with peace phrases, "Left" phrases, but objectively or directly help the reactionary forces, the aggressors?

1. Those forces of monopoly capital which are backing the Japanese invasion of China and which favor a bigger navy, for jingoistic purposes, and aim at a deal with Japan later on, on the basis of their superior strength as compared with the strength of Japanese capitalism. These forces cover their ultra-reactionary aim by spreading the Japanese imperialist theories of over-population and of the necessity of bringing order into

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China's chaos. These ultra-reactionary theories are smuggled under the cloak of an appeal for neutrality, for the purpose of gaining mass support.

2. The forces that follow the lead of the British foreign office and support neutrality, aiming at a compromise with the fascists.

3. The confused liberals and other pacifists who, while shouting against fascism, are, at the same time, boosting neutrality, who ignore completely the inner-relation in capitalist society, conceive the United States as in a vacuum, and forget just a little thing —the existence of an interdependence of the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself.

4. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, who block the fight against fascism, who want to bring about a revolution, not in Germany, not in the Franco territory of Spain, but a "revolution" (read counter-revolution), in the broadest democracy of the world—in the Soviet Union, and in democratic Spain. These forces are in the camp of counter-revolution, selling their counter-revolutionary theories under the cloak of "Left" phrases for the best use of the reactionary press, to boost isolation, and so supporting the invasions of the fascist aggressors.

5. The few Socialists, like Norman Thomas, that swing as a pendulum in between all currents and, faithful to their "super-objectivity," objectively and subjectively become mouthpieces of Trotskyite counter-revolutionary theories.

Let us examine a little further these five currents and see their interdependence, and what the answers are to their arguments.

Why are the reactionary forces for neutrality as against Roosevelt's policy, why do they borrow the Japanese argument of bringing modern civilization into China? The answer is simple. The reactionary forces that support Japan are the same forces that borrow fascist theories from Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, the same forces that strive to bring about fascism in the United States. At the moment when the overwhelming majority of the American people are for peace and against fascism, how could these forces come out openly in support of Japanese aggression? Japanese aggression—the war in China—is supported by them through this hypocritical neutrality, which gives an open hand to the aggressors.

There is no doubt that the main fire must be opened against these enemies of the toiling people; these merchants of death driving toward a world conflagration. In this respect our struggle for peace must be closely connected with the struggle for the immediate demands of the masses at home, which will help in defeating reaction and broaden out the democratic front of the masses.

The second current in the Tory camp is typified by the policies of Landon, Knox, and other reactionaries which find expression in *The New York Times*. It is the policy of "parallel action" as against the policy of collective security, the policy that aims at parallel action with Great Britain under the present Tory government, that ignores France, the Soviet Union and other democratic countries. This policy is motivated by

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fear of the Soviet Union, of the growing democracy in Spain, of the People's Front in France, and of a China fighting for independence. It is a policy that has in view agreements, compromises with the fascist nations, aiming to divert the attacks of the fascist nations in the direction of the Soviet Union. As we see, both these Tory currents are bitter enemies of collective security.

The third category is no less dangerous. Their arguments, seasoned by all kinds of "scientific" expressions, are in their "liberal" way as dangerous as the arguments of the reactionaries.

THE "LIBERAL" ISOLATIONISTS

This type of "liberal" is today symbolized by Professor Charles A. Beard, who lately has become the spokesman of isolationism among the confused liberals in America. What is the position of Professor Reard—in his reply in the *New Republic* to Comrade Browder's article on collective security? Professor Beard, who has, from a liberal point of view, analyzed the causes and forces which have brought about the development of present society in the United States, all at once forgets even his analytical historical method. For Professor Beard there is no difference between bourgeois-democratic countries and fascist countries. More than that, his heart is even bleeding for Japan, Italy and Germany because they have no access to the markets and raw materials of the "haves."

Furthermore, since he is completely unaware of the role that British, French and American labor can play in the struggle for peace and democracy, it is understandable why he comes to the conclusion that the probabilities of the outcome of a conflict between the bourgeois-democratic countries and the aggressors would be universal fascism rather than universal democracy.

What does Beard propose to stop the aggressive wars going on and to prevent the expansion of these wars? Seemingly he proposes nothing. In reality, his conclusion is, give the pocketbook to the thief to avoid a struggle. Seemingly, the sentiments that lead this type of liberal are very human ones. They want to keep clear of bloodshed. In reality, however, they are contributing to the preparation of the next world slaughter. They allow the slaughter to go on in China and in Spain, and their arguments help to disarm the masses at home.

In regard to the fourth current, it is not necessary to argue on their counter-revolutionary position and counter-revolutionary role. One thing stands out today: the reactionary forces use the Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites as their mouthpieces in the campaign against us, against the struggle for peace. Outstanding examples are the Stolberg articles and Mr. Martin's utterances. What is their main line? That everything that is done by us, to bring about a united democratic front, a world front of the democratic powers and including the Soviet Union, for collective security, is done to boost the Stalin foreign policy.

The same arguments are to be found today in the *Herald Tribune* and other reactionary papers. Here we see clearly how reaction is utilizing the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite stooges to combat our position, to

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create confusion among the masses, to prevent the labor movement from supporting the Roosevelt policy.

What is the Stalin policy? It is the peace policy of the Soviet Union consistently pursued since the October victory, the policy—of which the Soviet Union has given innumerable proofs—motivated by determination to preserve peace. Can there be a difference between the true peace policy of the peace-loving pople of the world and Stalin's policy? There can be no difference. There is no difference. Then what is your policy, gentlemen of the *Herald Tribune,* of the Liberty Leaguers, Mr. Stolberg, Martin, Lovestone? What is the policy of all these opponents of Stalin's policy? Undoubtedly, it is a policy of war, disguised under cover of isolationism.

At this point let me say that we cannot take a defensive attitude toward such attacks. We must come out openly before the masses and say, "Yes, we are for the defense of the Soviet Union, not only as a bulwark of peace, but as the country of socialism." We are for the defense of the Soviet Union and are ready to throw ourselves into this struggle with all our might. But at the same time, we say also that it is in the interest of the people of the world over that we are fighting for collective security. And when we speak of the peace-loving people the world over we speak especially of the people of the United States. It is now when the aggressors are attempting the subjugation of China, are penetrating Latin America, Canada, are nearing the Philippines, that they must be stopped.

The policy of isolation is only aiding the fascists. It is destructive of the interests of the American people, because it is this policy that sooner or later would involve the United States in a war. It is out of the policy of isolation that the "neutrality" law derives, the law that is defended by the conscious jingoists as well as by the confused pacifists, the law that has played directly into the hands of the aggressors.

"NEUTRALITY" IN PRACTICE

How does the neutrality law work in practice? Loyalist Spain, for example, can buy nothing in the United States with which to defend itself against fascist aggression. The supporters of neutrality, of course, object that neither can Franco buy anything to carry on war against Loyalist Spain. But who doesn't know that Hitler and Mussolini are behind Franco? That Italy and Germany are free to buy any raw material they want which in a very short time can be transformed into deadly weapons against democratic Spain? Japan can buy cotton, steel, scrap iron, anything necessary for the building of battleships, of planes, for making munitions. Certainly China can do the same—Our isolationists say: Good! but who does not know that Japan has a big navy, that Japan has extended a blockade of all Chinese ports? Furthermore, who does not know that while Japan has an industry that can transform raw materials into instruments of death, China has none? It is no accident that the fascists support the neutrality law.

We must come before the masses and state very openly that, unless a policy of collective security, of quarantining the aggressors, of concerted

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action by the democratic nations against the fascist bandits is instituted, we are going to become involved in war; that collective security is the only way that can keep the United States out of war. More than that, we must state that the danger is such that concerted action must be brought about in the quickest possible time. We must not forget that war is already going on, that this war may engulf the whole world in a new world slaughter.

Now, as to the question of how to mobilize the Party to the last man, as well as our friends in the labor movement and among the progressive forces. First of all, it is necessary to bring thorough clarification on this problem, so that we shall be able to speak effectively to the broad masses.

More than that, our comrades must intensify their activities on all fronts. To begin with, we must further strengthen the campaign in support of Spanish democracy, the campaign in support of the Chinese people. In this movement we are not isolated. The problem before us is how to utilize the widespread sentiment of the American people in support of Spanish democracy, in support of the Chinese people, so as to bring them into the struggle for collective security. In brief, the big problem before us is how to orientate the powerful mass sentiment for peace into the stream for collective security, how to make this the real peace movement of the day.

STRENGTHEN THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

One of the main tasks before our Party today is the strengthening of the American League for Peace and Democracy. While the Party is no longer affiliated to the League, yet it fully supports its program, in the same way that we support the line of Roosevelt's speech against the aggressors. The American League for Peace and Democracy has proved at its Pittsburgh Congress to be one of the main instruments in the hands of the progressive forces of the country in the struggle for peace and democracy.

The American League is not content with its present strength. It strives to bring into its ranks more organizations, tens of thousands of individual members, to strengthen its existing branches, to build new ones, to become thus a more powerful instrument for the mobilization of the masses of the labor movement, of the church movement, of the fraternal organizations, and of the masses in the neighborhoods. We must see to it that thousands of our Party members take their place in the ranks of the American League to serve as loyal members of this organization. More than that, we must bring the appeal of the American League into every progressive organization, so that from this source tens of thousands of new members will stream into the League.

A powerful American League for Peace and Democracy will help tremendously in the development of the forces moving in the direction of a democratic front. The strengthening of the American League means the strengthening of the struggle in support of Spanish democracy, means the strengthening and coordination of the boycott movement that is gaining impetus all over the country.

We must not only break the resistance of the Tory forces, of the theore-

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ticians of pacifism through isolation. At the same time we must break the passive resistance of large numbers of people who have not yet been brought into the movement to fight for a conscious peace policy. A powerful movement in the United States, a bold policy by the United States government will have a tremendous effect upon the peace-loving masses of the world. It will have a great effect in stimulating the struggle of the masses in Great Britain, against the Tory government which more and more openly pursues the line of cooperation with the fascists, aiding them consciously as it is doing in Spain.

INTENSIFY THE CAMPAIGN FOR SPAIN

The strengthening of the American League will be of the greatest help to the campaign for material aid to democratic Spain. This campaign for material aid must be spurred on. We must make up our minds, however, that no matter how costly it may be in energy and in material support, broadening out the campaign for Spain for a much more substantial raising of funds for food, for taking care of the children, for medical aid, is one of our main duties.

It is our task, simultaneously with the strengthening of the American League, to give all the necessary help to the Chapters of the Medical Bureau and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy spread all over the country.

At the same time, we must give the utmost attention to the development of the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade as an organization. It is necessary that the various committees, which have specific tasks to perform in regard to aid to Spain, shall not interfere with each other. It is difficult to draw a clear line of division. The solution of this problem lies in involving broader masses. The Friends specifically from now on must assume bigger and bigger obligations. Its duty is not only to continue the sending of material aid to American fighters in Spain, but at the same time to take care of the many disabled veterans who have returned or will return. It is an enormous task that requires enthusiasm, energy, correct organizational approach for involving in this phase of aid to Spain, not only the Party and the largest number of sympathizers, the families and friends of the fighters, but the progressive forces in the trade unions and other organizations as well.

The newly-formed organization of Spanish veterans is becoming one of the instruments which will not only aid in strengthening the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade, but through which the American people can be reached with the truth on Spain, and can be of great help in developing all phases of the campaign in support of Spanish democracy! This has been clearly demonstrated by the achievements of the Veterans Convention in Washington, which is a step forward in the struggle for the amendment of the neutrality law, in support of the O'Connell Bill, which is a vivid proof of the esteem in which the American fighters for democracy are held by the American public. That the American people appreciate the deeds of the Americans fighting for democracy in Spain is proved by the enthusiastic way the reports of the veterans are accepted, and the wide publicity they

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have received in the press. Comrade Nelson's tour was an outstanding example. In spite of the fact that his meetings were restricted to close circles, Comrade Nelson's reports were printed with favorable comments in the press. The American people are becoming more and more proud to have such sons fighting the battle for world democracy, on the Spanish battlefields.

Our responsibility in building the Friends of the Lincoln Brigade, to assist the fighters in Spain, to help the disabled, cannot be too highly emphasized. We must act quickly, energetically.

WE MUST BECOME THE DRIVING FORCE IN THE CAMPAIGN TO AID CHINA

Simultaneous with the campaign to aid democratic Spain, we must become the driving force in the spreading of the boycott of Japanese goods, of the campaign to aid the Chinese people. In this respect, we cannot be satisfied. While it is true that the boycott of Japanese goods has spread considerably (in this respect credit is due to the good work of the American Friends of the Chinese People), yet we have not responded sufficiently to the appeals for food, clothing, for aid to the tens of thousands of Chinese orphans.

The spreading of the boycott is worrying the reactionary forces, and they are not idle. With the direct help of Japanese agents and Japanese money, they are conducting a counter-campaign. The silk manufacturers are trying to put through a real sit-down strike. Hundreds of thousands of dollars, that certainly do not come from the pockets of the silk manufacturers, are being spent to stop the boycott. Let me quote from a circular letter sent to the hosiery stores from one of the centers of the counter-boycott campaign:

"The hosiery department which is lazy about recognizing the dangerous potentialities and unwilling to take any active part in discouraging a threatened boycott of the main raw material of its merchandise is sure to see a quicker response to it, and a surer falling off of dollar volume than the one which gets busy early to educate both personnel and customers away from the silk-boycott notion.

"Obviously this can't be done boldly, with counter signs or advertising, for the reason that the signs and the advertising messages would be seen by women who have never given a thought to foregoing silk hosiery because of a war between two Oriental nations or because of any reason. And, since a threat of this type grows almost as fast by negative as by positive suggestion, the less said about it, by print or spoken word, to women who are not always boycott-minded, the better."

Later on in the same circular when it deals with the method to be used to dissuade women from the boycott it states:

"But, when the customer mentions lisle or rayon, and then follows the request with the statement that she is buying it because she has determined not to wear silk that comes from a warring country, then the hosiery saleswoman is counted on to explain to her, courteously and informatively, with figures to back up what she says, that the customer is hurting herself, American industry, economic recovery, and her own appearance a great deal, and the habitat of the silkworm comparatively little, because the silkworm has no fatherland [this is a good one] when she buys substitutes for silk hosiery."

After giving instructions in regard to this "education," the circular states:

"So far these women represent a very

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small percentage of our clientele, but with every showing of motion picture newsreels depicting college girls throwing silk stockings into ash-cans, and so on, the percentage grows."

Yes, even the enemies of the boycott, the agents of Japanese imperialism, admit that the boycott is spreading. It is our task, the task of the progressive forces all over the country, to make of it one of the most powerful weapons against Japanese aggression. It should be an immediate task of the trade unions to get on the job and mobilize the salesclerks against the vicious intimidation of the hosiery bosses. But this is not sufficient. The campaign to aid the Chinese people must be extended.

An American medical unit is already on Chinese soil today. But this must be considered only as the beginning. In the same way we responded in support of Spanish democracy, we must plunge into the campaign in support of the struggle of the Chinese people. The campaign for the boycott of Japanese goods, the campaign in support of the Chinese people, cannot be viewed as a competitor in regard to our duties to Spain, but as an aid. To the extent that we develop both of these campaigns, the American people will understand more clearly that the only way to stop the aggressor, to stop the massacre of thousands of non-combatants, to stop the bombing of open cities from the air, is concerted action by all the peace-loving peoples of the world, will understand that the United States can play a tremendous role in this respect.

There is one thing that we must keep in mind at all times, that the campaign for aid, whether for democratic Spain or the Chinese people, will be successful to the extent that our Party, the various committees functioning for the specific purposes of aid, the progressive forces of the trade unions and others, will develop a powerful agitation to mobilize the American masses behind the masses of democratic Spain and China, who in their heroic struggles are fighting for the cause of world democracy. Such a campaign will move every American, every lover of democracy, proud of the American traditions of liberty, to contribute his pennies toward this cause. Such a campaign will also prove to the American people that the Communists are the driving force in the struggle for peace and will put our Party in touch with new millions.

* * *

Comrades, the latest developments emphasize the importance of strengthening and intensifying the struggle for peace. The drive of the Nazis in Germany for complete control of the army and of the economic life of the country, while exposing the serious friction existing in the ranks of the reactionary bourgeoisie, indicates above all an acceleration in their plans of aggression. It is clear that Hitler is encouraged and abetted in his aggressive schemes by the capitulatory policy of the British Tory government. One immediate result was the blackjacking of Austria into submission to Nazi domination. Hitler's next step, the subjection of Czechoslovakia, the last bourgeois-democratic state in Central Europe, has already virtually received the consent of the Chamberlain cabinet. All of this is to be crowned, if the fascist-Tory schem-

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ers will have their way, by a negation of the Franco-Soviet pact and the isolation of the Soviet Union in preparation for the long-planned fascist attack on the Socialist Republic.

This situation calls for the utmost vigilance by the proletariat and toiling masses the world over.

COMRADE STALIN'S WARNING

It is in the light of these developments that we can fully appreciate the significance of Comrade Stalin's warning—a warning of the imminent danger of an attack on the Soviet Union and the need of preparedness on the part of the people in the Soviet Union and the working class in the bourgeois countries. The wisdom and timeliness of Comrade Stalin's warning were proved by the now open plans of the Chamberlain cabinet for capitulation to the fascist powers. Obviously, this policy is directed against the Soviet Union. In the long run, however, an agreement with the fascist aggressors, if realized, would inevitably prove a costly boomerang for all the bourgeois democratic countries as well. This is why Eden, Winston Churchill and similar elements in Great Britain and other capitalist countries favor the policy of collective security.

We must note, in passing, the attacks on Comrade Stalin's letter in the press of the American bourgeoisie, including such self-proclaimed liberal papers as Mr. Stern's *New York Post* and *Philadelphia Record*. This Red-baiting, which takes Comrade Stalin's letter as a pretext, has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it aims as always at the isolation of our Party from the broad progressive forces, and thus at the defeat of the People's Front movement. And, on the other hand, it aims to weaken the struggle for collective security and to strengthen the isolationist forces.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS PERSISTENTLY FOUGHT FOR PEACE

We must unflinchingly meet and defeat these attacks. We must expose these slanderers with undeniable facts. Is it not true that the Soviet Union has done everything in its power to strengthen the world peace forces and to secure world peace? Has it not repeatedly proposed disarmament? Has it not, time and again, shown readiness to join in concerted action to stop fascist aggression in Spain, China and elsewhere? What was the answer of the non-fascist powers? Is it not a fact that the British Tories have persisted in their intrigues which helped the fascist attack on democratic Spain? Is it not true that the "anti-Comintern" triple alliance is directed against the Soviet Union in the first place, that Hitler has never missed an occasion to reiterate his adherence to the line formulated in *Mein Kampf*, the line of aggression against the Soviet Union?

What should be the attitude of the Soviet Union if all its efforts to secure world peace through concerted action are sabotaged by the Tories against the will of the masses, if the fascist powers show clearly that they are getting ready for an attack on the Soviet Union? Surely, in the face of all this, the people of the Soviet Union have a right to appeal for support to the toiling people the world over and to warn them to be on the alert.

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An attack against the Soviet Union cannot be conceived as anything else but an attack against world peace, against the toiling people the world over. Comrade Stalin did not say that the efforts to achieve collective security are at an end. On the contrary, his is a warning to the peace-loving peoples of the world to act quickly in order to bring about collective security, while he points out at the same time that the Soviet Union will not await an attack with folded arms, that it will teach the fascist aggressors a good lesson when and if it should become necessary.

Comrades, we are entering a decisive stage in the struggle that involves the future of the world, a struggle that demands the fullest mobilization of our forces. An essential part of this struggle is the fullest ideological clarification of the Party membership on the question of collective security.

DISSIPATE ALL CONFUSION

We must dissipate all confusion and all doubts in the minds of our comrades and our friends, confusion that is responsible of all kinds of "iffy" questions, such as, "What if collective security should fail?", or "Why do we oppose a larger navy, which, with the development of the People's Front, might some day serve the interests of the people?"

The problem today is not the consideration of all conceivable hypothetical situations. Our problem today is to fight determinedly, without any doubts, to achieve collective security through concerted action of the bourgeois-democratic countries jointly with the Soviet Union against the fascist aggressors, to develop such a powerful struggle that will force the governments to take concerted action in behalf of peace.

This is also the basis for our position on the question of a big navy. It is the isolationist position that leads to a big navy. If the fascist aggressors are allowed to have their way, if they are allowed to "get away with it" piecemeal with their aggressions, can there be any doubt that the broad masses of the American people would favor a big navy to secure themselves against fascist encroachments?

Apart from the fact that we have not got a People's Front government, that we cannot take it for granted that the navy would be used in the interest of the people, our position is that peace can be secured, not through a big navy, but through concerted action that would stop fascist aggression. But while opposing a big navy, we place the responsibility where it belongs. It is the fascist aggressors that are today responsible for the armament race, as they are responsible for the breaking of international peace. Secondary responsibility for the big navy building program rests with the isolationists, who fight against concerted action to check the fascist aggressors, the only policy that can secure world peace.

It is collective security through concerted action that must be brought about to stop the aggressors, and to deliver the first deadly blow to fascism.

This is the line on which we must concentrate, for which we must mobilize all our forces. At the same time, we must understand that the struggle for collective security is part and parcel of the struggle for democracy, that

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the struggle for peace is intimately linked up with the struggle against reaction and fascism at home.

It is in the unfolding of this struggle that the Party must strive to anchor itself firmly among the masses, to become a real mass Party, and to be enabled to play a more powerful role as the vanguard of the working class in fulfilment of its mission to lead the masses to a happy future, to socialism.

ERRATA

November issue, "Unite the Negro People." p. 1039—the paragraph reads: "The Party will be equal to its task" of building the People's Front and winning the Negro people for support to it "only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes" (Dimitroff).

This should read as follows:

"Such a Party [a Workers' and Farmers' Party—the American form of the People's Front] will be equal to its task . . . only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes." (Dimitroff.)

While in no wise neglecting the independent activity of the Party for Negro rights, the task of the Party is to bring the fight for the special demands of the Negroes into the broad People's Front movement.

We must rally the broad masses in the fight against all discrimination, against the exclusion of Negroes from industry, and against the attempts of the reactionaries and the employers to stir up racial animosities between Negro and white workers (in the auto, steel, and other industries).

February issue, "The Storm Center of the Cuban Crisis." Footnote on p. 139 should read:

Since this was written the Spanish government cabled that it will carry out this request of the Cuban people.

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RALLY THE NEGRO MASSES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT! *

BY JAMES W. FORD

THE issue of anti-lynching legislation stands in the center of the developing progressive front. The C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League, liberals, and progressive forces rallied to the National Negro Congress which organized support behind the National Association for Advancement of Colored People for the passage of the Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill.

The problems of the Negro people come to the fore in the midst of tendencies toward the development of a progressive movement in the South. The forces of progress are beginning to penetrate the South. New Deal supporters are being elected both as Congressmen and Senators. The influence of the C.I.O. is beginning to make itself felt in a practical way toward the solution of problems hindering the right of labor, white and black, to vote in the South. The C.I.O. is, for example, taking steps to make it possible for union members who are denied the privilege of voting because of inability to meet the exorbitant poll taxes, by setting aside funds to pay the taxes of such members.

The Right-to-Vote movement is taking on momentum, especially now, in North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, and other states. In Virginia even the Governor has stood for a slight modification of the poll tax regulation. Thus, the anti-lynching struggle and the other issues of the Negro people that are related to this struggle coincide with this new development in the South. We stand in need of winning the Negroes for the pro-New Deal Democrats. And if President Roosevelt and the progressive Democrats intend to defeat the Republican reactionary Southern Democrat coalition, they must give impetus to the New Deal on the Negro question.

The Anti-Lynching Bill is not yet defeated in the United States Senate. It will not be defeated if it is shelved, providing the forces of progress generally and we Communists make the struggle for the passage of this Bill an inseparable part of the fight for progressive legislation in the entire country. One cannot deny, however, that there are moods and attitudes of defeat. Even valiant fighters for the Bill and certain progressive forces are imbued with pessimism and can see nothing but defeat. We have found also among some of our Party forces a tendency to consider the abvisability of letting up in the struggle for the Bill on the grounds that it stands in the way of the passage of other progressive legislation. This is a defeat-

* Report made at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., and National Party Builders Congress, held in New York, February 18-21, 1938. (Condensed text.)

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ist attitude. It ignores the inseparableless of the struggle for this Bill with all other legislation in our country.

The Anti-Lynching Bill has aroused a national debate that has gone far beyond the question of the Bill itself. It involves the issue of the right to vote, the abolition of the poll tax, discrimination against Negroes, and the need for labor to win the support of the Negro people for its general struggle. This national debate has aroused the whole country. The slanders and indignities directed at the Negro people by the reactionary filibusterers, who no more represent the best opinion in the South than does Franco the Spanish people, try to hide the progressive role that the Negro people played in the Civil War and following the Civil War, during the period of Reconstruction. These attacks and slanders must be answered.

If the Anti-Lynching Bill is to be saved, the broadest sections of the American people must be aroused, not only against the indignities placed upon the Negro people, but for mobilizing all the forces of progress to defeat the reactionary Republican coalition. We must also isolate and defeat the Trotskyites and the Lovestoneites who oppose the People's Front movement and whose tactics are also designed to separate the Negro people from friends and allies in the People's Front movement.

THE NEGROES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Let us turn to the all-important issue of the struggle for peace. In 1935 the Negro people were aroused to the danger of war and fascism by the attacks upon the Ethiopian people. But of late the so-called conquest of Ethiopia by Italian fascism has brought pessimism and doubts in the ranks of the progressive forces and even to a certain extent in our Party. These doubts question the possibility of continuing the movement in support of Ethiopia. But every day brings news that the Ethiopian people have not been conquered. The struggle of the Ethiopian people is part of the struggle of the Chinese and Spanish peoples.

Our task is to broaden the movement against the fascist war-makers to make it more outspoken against fascism as a world system of reaction. We must demonstrate the danger of this reaction to the Negro people, connecting it with the reactionaries in our own country, those who are trying to throw our own country, in its foreign policy, on the side of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio arc. We must defeat and expose the falsely-alleged pro-Japanese sympathy of the Negro people, this fascist-concocted theory of the unity of the darker races around Japan. It would be death to the Negro people for them not to see the danger to themselves in the tie-up of Japan with the Rome-Berlin axis—this international of reaction, aimed at destroying democracy, at annexing small nations, and at aggressively bringing on war to realize all these aims.

The Negro people belong on the side of progress. We must have the support of Chinese organizations to aid in showing the Negro people the real role of the Japanese militarists in the interests of the top clique in Japan.

In all of these issues the role of the National Negro Congress becomes of utmost importance for us. The Con-

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gress does not receive sufficient support from us. It is still weak organizationally. It needs to be built. And it is up to the Communists to do their share in helping to build it.

At the February 12 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the National Negro Congress a decision was made to call a national conference jointly with the N.A.A.C.P., if possible, and other organizations and outstanding leaders, at Washington. This conference aims to answer the slanders made against the Negro people around the Anti-Lynching Bill, to arouse the white population of the entire country to the need of supporting the bill, to raise sharply all of the elementary democratic rights of the Negro people for practical solution—the right to vote, the right to sit on juries, the abolition of Jim-Crowism, and the election of Negroes to Congress and to the United States Senate, the election of Negro governors. The right of the Negro to full equality will be the key issue raised at that conference. The conference will place a fire under all of those Senators who voted against cloture, who hindered practical steps to realize the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

The Executive Committee of the National Negro Congress has also decided to institute a drive to recruit 20,000 sponsors for the Congress. As a duly elected member of the Executive Committee at the recent congress at Philadelphia, in the name of the Communist Party, I pledge one thousand Negro Communists to become members of the National Negro Congress during its drive. Our Communists must become the most active and enthusiastic workers in the National Negro Congress. We have recruited 3,000 Negro members into the Party during the Party Building Campaign. We must see that the best of these comrades are utilized for work in the National Negro Congress.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AMONG THE NEGRO MASSES

This leads me to another point, the activity of our Communist Party generally at present in behalf of the Negro people. Our Party has always fought energetically for the rights of the Negro people. But the period into which we are entering now demands and will still more demand that the Party itself develop more independent activity around the immediate issues of the Negro people, around those issues that conform to the democratic front in our country. The immediate problem which stands before the Negro people throughout the country is that of jobs and security—the struggle for enlarging the W.P.A. and the employment of Negroes to meet the unemployed situation. In order, however, to develop this struggle in a correct tactical manner, it is necessary for us to organize the Negro people to struggle against the big monopolies, and all industries and institutions that deny jobs to Negroes. In order to get the trade union movement back of this fight, it is necessary to place the blame for lack of jobs directly upon the shoulders of the monopolies.

We have had a typical example of how this can be done here in New York City. As a result of the investigation of urban conditions among the colored population, led by Lester B. Granger, director of a State Commission, officials of such utilities as transportation, telephone, electricity, and

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gas were forced to declare at the hearing that Negroes were denied employment because of racial discrimination. This open declaration astounded the people, not only of Harlem, but of all New York. The results and recommendations of that commission are now before the State Assembly in Albany. The commission has demanded that charters be denied to public utilities and other public institutions that discriminate against Negroes in employment. Thus, you see, this has made it easier for the unions to make a fight for jobs for Negroes and against discrimination in various departments, particularly in transportation and in other public and semi-public utilities.

If our Party is able to further such independent movement in behalf of the Negro people, it will facilitate winning the support of trade unions and the rank-and-file members in these organizations to an understanding of the need of supporting the Negro people. The C.I.O. has already played a very large role in the organization of the unorganized Negro workers of this country. Hundreds of thousands of Negro workers have been organized, where heretofore there were none organized. They are becoming, therefore, an important factor in the movement for the independent political action of labor.

A few words regarding recruiting of Negroes into our Party. Closely connected with our agitation among Negroes, with recruiting Negroes into the Communist Party, and with bringing them into the progressive movement of our country, is the question of properly relating the struggles of the Negro people to the traditions of our country, to the traditions of the Civil War, of the Reconstruction period, the heritage of Lincoln and the great Negro abolitionist, Frederick Douglass. The reactionaries of the Republican Party try their utmost to twist and misinterpret the tradition of Lincoln. Certain Negro leaders of the Republican Party, such as the attorney William H. Lewis, have very recently declared that if Lincoln were alive today he would be against the New Deal policies of the Roosevelt Administration. But what are the facts? We know that Lincoln was the leader of the struggle for the abolition of slavery, that Lincoln understood the problems of labor and was wholeheartedly for labor. Lincoln's great declaration showed this to be true, when he said: "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

And if the great Douglass were alive today, he would be in the very heart of the struggle for the Anti-Lynching Bill, for the unity of the progressive forces with the Negro people; Douglass, who led delegations to Washington to fight for Negro rights; Douglass who led a delegation to visit Andrew Johnson to oppose his position on the rights of Negro people; this Douglass who helped to organize state conferences of Negroes throughout the South to fight for the enforcement of the rights of the Negro people—if he were alive today, would be found in the forefront of the struggles for progress in our time. We, the inheritors of the traditions of Lincoln and Douglass, must continue to carry forward our fight for the equal rights

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of the Negro people, for a progressive movement to preserve and extend the democratic gains.

It is, however, not an easy task for us to lead this struggle. In Harlem, for example, certain people under the influence of the so-called 100 per cent Americans, the committee of One Million, led by the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, are trying to organize a reactionary movement. Last week the Reverend Cullen, whose son is an outstanding poet and who tends towards progress, organized in his church a meeting to protest against the Communist Party as an "alien" organization bringing alien influences into the community. These people attacked the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, one of the most prominent progressives in Harlem, for having allowed a memorial meeting to be held in his church for Milton Herndon, who was killed in Spain fighting for democracy.

These same people are attacking the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, who, together with A. Phillip Randolph, President of the National Negro Congress, is active in developing the job campaign against the utilities for the Negroes of Harlem. They are engaged in attacking progressive organizations, such as the Harlem Legislative Conference. So also are the Trotskyites, the Lovestoneites. We cannot say that these reactionaries, these agents of reaction and fascism, do not exert some little influence on the Negro people. They try to influence the middle classes, the intellectuals, and the recently radicalized people. They bring to bear all the opposition they can against the People's Front, against the development of the unity of the Negro people. They try to twist the slogan of self-determination to cause confusion. They try to confuse the whole struggle for unity of the Negro people in the people's movement by balancing off the question of "assimilation."

As a means of fighting and defeating this barrage of reaction, in order to develop further the propaganda and agitation for building the Communist Party among the Negroes, and for promoting the People's Front movement, the Negro Commission of the Central Committee has decided to publish a series of needed pamphlets, tracts, etc., on the problems of Negro organization, on the question of the right to vote in the South, on the tradition of the Negroes, on the role of Frederick Douglass, etc., for wide distribution among Negro and white masses.

THE HARLEM LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

A few remarks on the Harlem Legislative Conference. This Conference has grown out of the recent municipal elections in New York as well as actions in uniting the people in previous elections in Harlem. As a result of the 62 per cent majority vote that LaGuardia got in Harlem over Mahoney, as a result of the large percentage of American Labor Party votes (32 per cent) in Harlem among the Negroes, Porto Ricans, Italians and other sections, a general progressive movement is developing in Harlem among the middle class, which has resulted in the organization of the Harlem Legislative Conference. It was organized on the initiative of Vito Marcantonio, former Congressman from Lower Harlem who was defeated in the last election by the landslide for Roosevelt which resulted in the election of the Tammany-con-

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trolled Lanzetta. Marcantonio initiated the conference by calling together four Assemblymen from Harlem, two Negroes—Andrews and Justice; Fitzgerald, an Irish Catholic; and Garcia Rivera, a Porto Rican. As a result of that call, more than 600 people, representing various Harlem organizations, convened to take up the people's mandate as voiced in the elections of 1936 and 1937—the issues of housing, safety, recreation, abolition of discrimination against Negroes and Porto Ricans in the territory, the unity of Negroes and whites.

There have been three conferences held so far, each conference being broader than the previous one. More people participate; certain officials have participated, among them Councilman Quill of the American Labor Party. Borough President Isaacs participated recently, bringing forward very sharply the question of the struggle for civil rights around his appointment of Gerson. There have even been representatives from Hopkins' office in Washington to observe the proceedings of the Harlem Legislative Conference.

This conference is further significant in that it is the first time in the history of Harlem that legislators have come together on one platform and listened to the people, allowed the people to tell them what they wanted them to do in the Legislature at Albany.

Recently, on the occasion of the voting on the Child Labor amendment, at Albany, Garcia Rivera, the man around whom, above all, the conferences are centralized, got up on the floor of the State Assembly and declared: "I vote for this Child Labor legislation as a mandate from the people who elected me to office." Andrews, who, although a Tammany Democrat, is progressive, introduced the Amendment on the Child Labor legislation in the Assembly.

The conference has as its central aim, not only the struggle in the State Legislature, but the development of a broad campaign for the election to Congress of Vito Marcantonio in the 1938 elections.

The conference has the aim of electing, for the first time in New York state, a Negro—an outstanding Negro leader—to the Congress of the United States. What a mighty force it would be for the New Deal policies, for labor and the progressive forces, and for the Negro people to have such a man in the Congress of the United States as compared with Mitchell of Chicago. It is a hard task, beset with many difficulties; but the policy of broad, united-front activity is bound to register successes.

The activities of this united front Harlem Legislative Conference confirm the general line of our Party, particularly in the Negro territory. One of the highlights in this united front is that we have raised strongly the idea of unity of the Negro and white to a much higher political level. For the first time, through this conference, Negro, Porto Rican, Irish and Italian populations of Harlem have been brought together in a common front, on common problems, and common issues—something never before known in Harlem. Tammany heretofore has disorganized and disunited the various national groups in Harlem. The process of bringing together of the groups is one of the high achievements of the conference—in the light of the historic movement for unity of Negro and white.

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THE COAL MINERS IN CONVENTION

BY B. K. GEBERT

On January 25 to February 3 the United Mine Workers of America held its Thirty-fifth Constitutional Convention at Washington, D. C.

The conventions of the coal miners' union have always played an important role in the American labor movement; but this year especially the U.M.W.A. convention drew the attention of the workers, farmers, and all progressive elements throughout the country, because the U.M.W.A. occupies an honorable place in the labor movement as the shock-brigade and vanguard of the C.I.O.

The convention was attended by 2,009 delegates representing close to 600,000 members organized in some 4,000 locals and 29 districts in about 30 states in the United States and Canada. For the first time during the 48 years of the existence of the Miners Union, they were able to register the fact that nearly 95 per cent of all the coal miners are under the banner of the U.M.W.A.

The union is thus firmly established in the mining industry in both bituminous and anthracite coal fields, with a check-off and mine committees.

CONDITIONS IN MINING INDUSTRY

The mining industry is one of the sick industries of the country. Production of coal has constantly declined since 1923 and during the six years between 1923 and 1929, 203,000 miners lost their jobs in the bituminous fields. A further drop was registered, from 502,000 in 1929 to 406,000, in 1932. The wages also declined from an average of $6.74 a day in 1923 to $3.36 in 1933, and in some Southern states down to $2.00 a day. In 1937 the number of miners employed in the bituminous coal fields had increased to an estimated 480,000. In addition, about 160,000 miners are employed in the anthracite coal fields.

Thanks to the energetic organizational campaign conducted by the International Executive Board, the bituminous coal fields were organized at the beginning of 1934, and with this a contract was secured which increased the wages considerably, providing for a basic day wage of $5.60 in the fields south of the Ohio River, and $6.00 north of the Ohio River, with seven hours a day and five days a week. The wages were lower, however, in the South. It has been estimated that during the period of three years the total increase in wages for the miners was approximately $239,000,000. But even with these increases the average weekly earnings of the miners are below those of the workers in many industries, because in November, 1937, the average weekly earnings of the miners stood at $24.

The delegates to the U.M.W.A.

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conventions are democratically elected by the local unions. This is usually preceded by a quite thorough discussion of the problems confronting the miners, often resulting in the adoption of resolutions, which are submitted to the convention. The convention this year was presented with 1,248 resolutions dealing with the question of unity of the trade union movement, for the C.I.O., for the organization of the unorganized, including two resolutions which called for the organization of the Ford Motor Company. Many of them dealt with the question of independent political action on the part of labor, for a Farmer-Labor alliance, social security, unemployment relief on jobs, endorsement of Roosevelt's peace policy; against war, against fascist aggressors, for support of the American League for Peace and Democracy, for the support of Loyalist Spain, for the freedom of political prisoners, including Mooney, Billings and the Scottsboro boys, for equal rights of the Negro people, organization of women, youth, etc. In addition, there were 551 resolutions dealing with the wage scale and working conditions, and 693 resolutions proposed amendments to the constitution of the Union.

This indicated the vitality of the local unions and their interest in the problems of their Union and of the labor movement as a whole.

The miners' convention met at a time when, as a result of the developing economic crisis, the army of unemployed had increased to over 12,000,000, with consequent growing misery and hunger in working class families, with millions of workers on part-time, with a shrinking of the income of farmers, professionals and middle classes, and with the threat of lowering wages and sharpening of the attacks against the trade unions. The big monopolies are fighting for a return to the Hoover reactionary policies, and are mobilizing all their forces to curb the people and to defeat the progressive measures proposed by the Roosevelt administration.

On the other side, there had been a growth of the forces for progress, peace and democracy and a general trend along the lines of the people's mandate of 1936. The growing of the forces of the People's Front was marked by the success of Labor's Non-Partisan League, particularly in New York and Pennsylvania; the first beginnings of the working together of the forces of labor and farmers on a national scale and their realization of the need of collaboration on the part of all the progressive and labor forces of the country. This development is being hampered, however, by the lack of unity in the trade union movement in the country; that is, by the split between the unions of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., a split for which the reactionary Council of the A. F. of L. is solely responsible.

The convention was faced also by a growing danger of war and with intensified propaganda for "neutrality" and isolationism, as expressed in the Ludlow Amendment, which would lead rather to war than to peace, since it attempts to prevent the mobilization of the peace forces in line with the policy indicated by President Roosevelt in his Chicago speech, which called for quarantining the fascist aggressors.

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It is precisely in this period that there is need for a program that will bring about unity in the labor movement and unite labor, farmers, and middle classes in a common front against reaction, the big monopolies, the 60 families who are responsible for the present situation in the country and who are instigators of fascism in our country. There is a need for a program of the people that will meet their economic demands, and will unify them on the political field; that is, a program for the People's Front as the basis for struggle for a people's government in the United States.

In this article we shall attempt to show how these basic problems confronting the people were met by this historic miners' convention.

The miners' convention unanimously declared itself in favor of independent political action on the part of labor by the endorsement of Labor's Non-Partisan League. In the report of the officers to the convention, the work of Labor's Non-Partisan League was characterized in the following words:

"Nothing is more certain than that the overwhelming character of the Roosevelt victory is attributable to the organization and mobilization of labor in every industrial section behind his candidacy."

URGE FARMER-LABOR ALLIANCE

Appraising the work of L.N.P.L. in a number of states the report hails as one of the League's outstanding achievements the farmer-labor alliance expressed in the signing of a pact between L.N.P.L. and the Farmers Union on February 12, 1937. The report continues:

"The agreement calls for mutual legislative support, both at Washington and at state capitals, and for cooperation during the election campaigns of 1938. Labor undertakes also to promote among the industrial workers a better understanding of the problems of the farmers, and particularly of the cooperative movement; the farm organization undertakes similarly to bring to its membership information upon the needs of industrial workers, to the end that the efforts of financiers and industrialists to keep these two great groups of producers apart may be defeated."

In the special resolution adopted on L.N.P.L., the convention calls for the forming of L.N.P.L. everywhere, to work energetically so that:

"All other progressive and liberal groups and elements in the local communities be impressed with the necessity and encouraged, for their own protection and for the protection of all democratic and progressive institutions, to ally themselves with labor and farmers in the activity and program of Labor's Non-Partisan League."

The convention endorsed President Roosevelt's struggle against reactionary interests, declaring:

". . . the United Mine Workers of America herewith affirms its faith in the leadership of President Roosevelt in the struggle to bring the benefits of our culture and civilization to the American masses by a program dedicated to social and humanitarian purposes. . . . The United Mine Workers of America hereby dedicates itself to the maintenance and extension of this program of President Franklin D. Roosevelt so that its benefits may be enjoyed by ourselves and our children, and to the continued struggle under this leadership against the ruthless and selfish opposition of reactionary interests."

The miners stand squarely for the development of a people's movement embracing workers, farmers, and progressive elements of the country. The U.M.W.A. presents a picture of an alliance of labor with the progressive political forces in the country, of la-

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bor no longer the tail-end of the capitalist political kite.

POLICY SHOULD BE APPLIED LOCALLY

The mining communities are mostly located in farming territories, and some miners are also part-time farmers. The miners can therefore play an important role in the realization of a farmer-labor alliance, because they can be instrumental in establishing a unity between the workers and farmers in many states in the country. At the same time they can base themselves on the program of Labor's Non-Partisan League and apply it in practice—miners, together with other workers and farmers and progressive forces, in the mining and surrounding communities, thereby bringing about a change in the life of these communities by electing administrations in the towns, cities, and counties that will further a program in the interest of the people.

The most opportune time for beginning this activity is in connection with the oncoming elections, which require immediate concerted preparations in a broad People's Front campaign, to guarantee the election to Congress of progressive candidates.

Many of these communities are as yet dominated by the reactionary forces who are hostile to the organization of labor, hostile to the people, and who serve the interests of the coal operators and bankers. These administrations are used, as has often been experienced by the miners, to suppress and crush miners' movements. This is particularly true in such states as West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Pennsylvania. This task, placed before the convention of the miners and before the toiling people as a whole, should be realized in the speediest possible manner.

In advancing the program of unity between labor and the farmers, it must be clearly understood that the practical program for a solution of the problems of the farmers to some extent must be worked out in each county and state to meet the needs of the farmers, and above all to guarantee prices for farm products on the basis of the cost of production. The organization of the farmers in an alliance of farmers and labor in the counties is one of the most urgent tasks confronting the labor movement as a whole, as well as the farmers. Suffice it here to mention the defeat of the strike of the workers of Hershey, Pennsylvania, which was brought about by arousing the farmers against the strikers, or in some communities the organization of vigilantes and other reactionary forces who are used against labor. There is a common interest between the farmers and labor, as both are being exploited by the same forces, and there is no clash of interests between them. On the basis of their common interests they must unite together with all progressive forces against the monopolies, against Wall Street, who exploit the people as a whole.

The United Mine Workers of America is affiliated to the Miners International Federation. The officers' report to the convention quotes the recent report of the German Miners' Federation which describes the struggle of the miners under the hell of bloody Hitler in the following words:

"Recently railway trucks loaded with coal left a mine with the inscription: 'The Ger-

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man Miners' Union is still alive!' This was a message that went beyond our small circle of trade unionists who dare to associate themselves in a country where trade union activity is labeled as high treason. The police could just wipe out this message from the wagons, but police cannot wipe out the will to reconquer liberty.

"In another colliery the men were told that they had to work one hour overtime, but they solidly stood together and forced the overseers to give the order of winding without the overtime being worked. This was a serious warning to the despots, who were thus told that they have not killed the old trade union spirit, and that the workers are returning to organized action.

"These are only two examples out of many.

"The fascist state considers every action against the exploiting capitalists as an action directed against the state itself. This renders our work not only difficult, but makes it extremely dangerous. Thus the National-Socialist state shows its true face—that of a watchdog of capitalism."

Speaking of the work of the Miners' International, Thomas Kennedy, the U.M.W.A. delegate to the last conference of the Federation, declared: "There is no question but that it [fascism under Hitler] is heading for war, well-planned as evidenced by this great increase in the productivity of mines and munitions manufactured." And further: "The German people would emerge from this nightmare and restore democracy to the people of that country." He concluded by declaring that the miners of the U.S. will continue to support such a struggle. Delegate Kennedy also explained:

"In France, the French miners have secured a great many favorable concessions in wages and hours and vacations as a result of the great work of the government that just passed out of existence in France several weeks ago. The French miners have a fine organization as a result of their economic strength, and it is the judgment of all concerned that they will be able to hold and protect the conditions that were secured recently as a result of the cooperation of the French government recently dissolved."

DENOUNCE AGGRESSORS

With this understanding the convention unanimously adopted a resolution against the fascist aggressors and for peace. The resolution declares:

"Whereas, during recent years the civilized world has witnessed the continued aggressive actions on the part of fascist nations of the world, such as Germany, Italy, and Japan, to impose their vicious principles and policies upon other democratic countries;

"Whereas, such encroachments by these fascist nations have even extended to wars of aggression with weaker nations and attempting to subjugate the peoples of such weaker nations in the most brutal and inhuman manner;

"Whereas, these fascist aggressors have carried on their policies of undeclared war on the weaker nations with the most uncivilized and barbarous tactics in brutally bombing non-military cities and killing and maiming thousands of women and children and non-combatants;

"Whereas, labor is most vitally interested in the policy of this country in regard to the international situation, in that labor is most interested in the policy which will give the greatest assurance for peace and the continued protection of labor's rights and democratic institutions; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, that this convention does hereby most severely condemn the viciousness of all these fascist nations and their barbarous and uncivilized policies and principles and specifically condemns the Japanese action in its unwarranted and unjustified attack upon the Chinese people, and approves and joins with the labor organizations and other liberal organizations throughout the world to participate in an economic boycott of Japanese manufactured goods in this country; and further

"Resolved, that it is the expression of this convention that the foreign policy of the United States shall not be formulated or

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made dependent upon the protection of the vested or property interests in foreign countries of the large corporations in this country, but that rather such foreign policy should express the wholehearted desire of the American people for the greatest assurance of international peace."

This stand of the miners has particular significance, especially as contrasted with the stand some other trade unions took on this vital issue of peace. For example, the resolution of the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America centers its attack, not upon the fascist aggressors, but discovers that the main source of danger of war comes from the Roosevelt administration. Such a position only gives comfort and aid to fascism and encourages its murderous assault upon the peaceful people of other countries and strengthens the position of the fascist tyrants in their own countries. One can note the fact that the miners' convention did not endorse the Ludlow Amendment. Although there were resolutions introduced in support of the Ludlow Amendment, these resolutions were buried in committee.

However, the miners' resolution did not go far enough to further the "greatest assurance of international peace," since it failed explicitly to endorse Roosevelt's Chicago speech, which called for quarantining the fascist aggressors. This indicates the need for further clarification of the meaning of the policy of collective security, if put into life by the democratic capitalist nations in conjunction with the Soviet Union, as the only way to preserve world peace.

CLEAR STAND ON UNITY

On the vital question of unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., the convention approved the position of the Atlantic City Conference of the C.I.O. and of its committee on unity negotiations.

In the course of the discussion on this issue, John L. Lewis made a public offer for immediate unification, declaring:

"Peace is desirable. We all want peace with honor. If the American Federation of Labor wants peace, I will recommend to the four million members of the Committee for Industrial Organization that on the first day of February, 1938, they march into the American Federation of Labor, horse, foot and dragoon, if the American Federation of Labor will issue charters to the Committee for Industrial Organization units and later on call a convention to arrange the details.

"If that proposal be not pleasing to the American Federation of Labor, we offer the alternative proposal that on the first day of February, 1938, the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor, horse, foot and dragoon, march into the Committee for Industrial Organization, and the Committee for Industrial Organization will issue charters to every unit of the American Federation of Labor and agree to call a joint convention later on to arrange the details."

Phillip Murray, who was chairman of the C.I.O. negotiating committee for unity with the A. F. of L., discussed the question of unity at length, pointing out that the basic problem confronting the C.I.O. and the labor movement as a whole is the question of organizing the unorganized and that the C.I.O. came into existence precisely and primarily because of the do-nothing policies of the A. F. of L. in the field of organizing the unorganized. He declared:

"Can we appreciate the weaknesses of the American Federation of Labor as such, when consideration is given to the fact that out of some 38,000,000 employables in the United

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States of America, no more than three and a half to four million have ever been organized by the American Federation of Labor? . . . The voice of labor in our great country, the strength of labor in our great country, can only be measured by the numbers who are attached to labor in this country. The American Federation of Labor was weak. It is weak in the councils of the nation. It requires some great driving force to be organized in this country, to put in motion the facilities at hand, to organize the unorganized and secure recognition for this principle of industrial organization in the great mass production industries of the United States of America."

The convention resolved that it:

"Authorizes and directs the officers of the United Mine Workers of America to continue the activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization with greater strength and increased activity for the purpose of ultimately achieving a labor movement in this country which shall afford the greatest economic and political strength to the workers of the country; and further

"That the officers of the United Mine Workers of America shall offer whatever aid may be necessary, financial or otherwise, to the Committee for Industrial Organization for the purpose of carrying out and achieving this goal."

The convention adopted a number of very important resolutions dealing with the question of the six-hour day, five-day week, demanding appropriation of five billion dollars for housing construction, and of three billion dollars for W.P.A. jobs and relief, in favor of strengthening and improving the Social Security Act, for the amendment to the constitution prohibiting child labor, for equal rights for Negroes and endorsing the anti-lynch bill. It called for support of the LaFollette Senate Civil Rights Committee, condemned the use of the National Guard against workers on strike and against labor in general, particularly singling out the terroristic activity of city and state governments during the Little Steel Strike. It adopted a program for state legislation similar to the program adopted by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee Convention, as outlined in my article in the February issue of *The Communist*.

FOR HEALTH PROTECTION

It is necessary to mention a few other outstanding developments at the convention. The question of the health of the people, particularly of industrial hygiene, received considerable attention. The Officers' Report summarizes the effect upon the workers who are exposed to occupational diseases as a result of lack of health protection in their places of work. It points out the following:

1. There are more than 15,000,000 persons gainfully employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries and extraction of minerals in the United States.

2. In these industries there are more than 900 occupations potentially hazardous to health.

3. The health of workers engaged in industry is affected by the conditions, materials, and processes used. Unhealthful industrial environment not only causes specific occupational diseases, but increases the incidence of tuberculosis, pneumonia, and degenerative diseases.

4. The life expectancy of the industrial worker is seven years less than that of those otherwise employed.

5. Tuberculosis rates are much higher in the industrial group.

6. Pneumonia rates are twice as

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high in the industrial group.

7. Degenerative diseases show rates two or three times higher in the industrial group.

8. Occupational disease costs are increasing and taking a tremendous and unnecessary toll from workers in industry.

9. Occupational disease is preventable by correcting unhealthful industrial environment.

10. Occupational disease control is essential to protect this large industrial group from increased incidence of disease.

11. The protection of the health of those engaged in industry against injurious occupational environment is the responsibility of the public health authorities.

That this problem is one of the most important cannot be overstressed. Josephine Roche, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, speaking on this question at the convention, declared:

> "Half of the children born every year in this great United States of ours are born in homes whose fathers and mothers are either on the relief rolls or who have less than $1,250 a year income. Half of the 2,000,000 babies born every year are born in homes where there is no income at all or so little that the fathers and mothers cannot buy for those children the food and the care and the protection that is the right of every American child to have. And what happens to those million babies? They die at five times the rate of the other half, born in homes where there is a little more money, die. One-half of the children have not even one-fifth of the chance the other half have to live even through the first year of life."

At the previous conventions of the miners' union one of the most disputed question was that of the right of the districts to elect their district officers. This question was termed as one of "autonomy," a word wrongly used because it is not a problem of autonomy in an organizational sense, since the International Union as such must maintain the closest organizational tie if it is to be effective in the industry, to protect and improve the conditions of the miners. It is rather a question involving the right of the election of district officers by the respective districts themselves. This question was met at the convention by the International officers in the spirit of adjusting the problem. The International officers recommended that district conventions take place to adopt a constitution in accord with the International Constitution and elect all officers, with the exception that the president and secretary-treasurer in such districts shall still be selected by the International Executive Board "until such time as the International Executive Board shall provide otherwise." This proposal by the officers was adopted by the convention. It is a step forward toward the elimination of one of the difficulties that has existed within the organization for a long period of time.

For more than a decade there was a provision in the Miners' Constitution which prohibited membership in a number of organizations, among them the Communist Party, and called for the expulsion from the United Mine Workers of America of all those who held membership in any of the enumerated organizations. In recent years this provision has not been enforced against the Communists. As a matter of fact there was a group of Communists as delegates to the convention, a number of whom

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spoke from the floor. The *Daily Worker* of January 3, 1938, declared editorially:

"Communists did not consider it opportune to raise the question at all at this convention, especially since it already has so little meaning in actual life. Of the scores of Communists at the convention, not one raised it, and it made its appearance only once in the speech of a Canadian delegate after the formal adoption of the constitution.

"Naturally, we would have welcomed the elimination of this dangerous clause, particularly with the present need not to give the enemy any opportunity to divide labor's ranks. We are sure, however, that the miners who know the work of the Communists with whom they work shoulder to shoulder will soon find ways of eliminating the clause from the constitution as they have eliminated it in life."

However, the capitalist press and other enemies of labor have attempted to seize upon the fact that this paragraph was not eliminated from the constitution as evidence of some sort of Red-baiting on the part of the miners. Such interpretations are wrong and misleading. No one will be able to eliminate Communists from the labor movement, as they have gained the admiration and support from all the constructive forces, because of their proved devotion and loyalty to the labor movement in the struggle against reaction and fascism and for peace. Therefore the *Daily Worker* editorial correctly stated:

"Going forth from the miner's convention, which is striking such splendid blows at reaction, for labor's progress and democracy, the Communists in the U.M.W.A. will continue to serve their union, modestly and with faithful devotion—the union which has given the lead to American labor."

The present contract in the bituminous coalfields expires on April 1, 1939. The convention adopted a statement with regard to the renewal of the contract, which states: "Every effort shall be made by the International officers to secure a National Joint Wage Scale Meeting" and "to establish a uniform six-hour day and five-day week." All the resolutions submitted by the local unions dealing with the problem of wages, working conditions, etc., are to be the base for negotiations of a new contract.

Much has been said, and correctly so, of the fact that the miners contributed so much toward the organization of the unorganized in other mass production industries and that they were the spearhead of the C.I.O. drive, but it most also be said that the coming of the C.I.O. has had tremendous effect upon the miners' union itself. If the last convention was more harmonious than any previous convention, if its deliberations were of such a fruitful character, one must attribute this to the broad program of the C.I.O. which goes belond the economic demands of the workers, which also brings forward all other vital issues of the workers and plays a major political role in the country. As John L. Lewis, Chairman of the C.I.O., declared at the opening of the C.I.O. National Conference on October 11, 1937, in Atlantic City:

"We have unloosed ideas, energy and forces in America that will not only affect the lives of the people living in our land, but will ultimately affect the lives of countless numbers of people who are yet unborn."

PUT DECISIONS INTO LIFE

The miners' convention has laid down a program which places this union on a higher level and makes it

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the spearhead for the progressive forces of the country. Because it is the leading union of the C.I.O., its decisions will have a profound effect upon the C.I.O. as a whole and will undoubtedly affect all other labor organizations as well as all progressive forces throughout the country. Bearing this in mind, it is necessary to point out that these decisions must be realized in life, that the local unions in the mining communities must become fully acquainted with the decisions of this convention and must rally the entire population behind them.

The miners' convention registered the growing consciousness on the part of the American labor movement, a class consciousness, a realization of the interests of the workers, not as one group or one craft, but as a class; a realization, furthermore, of the mutual interests of the workers, farmers, and middle classes, the natural allies against the monopolies. This, therefore, lays the foundation for the development of a People's Front movement in the country.

Before us, as Communists, stands the task, in view of all of this, to become the staunchest exponents of these decisions and to help in bringing about their realization in the life of the union and in the mining communities, developing the broadest possible movements around these decisions.

Side by side with this, the building of the Party in the mining communities assumes a new and special importance. Because the miners' union influences the labor movement and the progressive forces of the country as a whole, it becomes increasingly necessary to develop the work of our Party for the purpose of strengthening the Party organization, building it in the mines and mining communities by developing systematic education which is so necessary and is at present lacking in these communities. Furthermore, the Communist Party represents the interests of the entire class; and by bringing our Party into the mining communities, into the life of the miners, we will broaden their outlook and assist in the execution of the decisions of the convention. The task of building the Party in the mining communities must be undertaken by every state and county organization of our Party. A special study must be made of how concretely we can tackle the problem of building a mass Party in the mining communities and at the same time reach the countryside, uniting miners, farmers, and other sections of the population in a movement worthy of the best traditions of the miners of the American working class.

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DAVEY MUST BE DEFEATED!

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON
Ohio State Secretary, C.P.U.S.A.

NEARLY two years ago the last Ohio state convention of the Communist Party adopted a resolution which stated:

"The convention notes that the Party has not yet freed itself effectively from old sectarian practices and habits—the overcoming of which is a necessary prerequisite to becoming a decisive political factor in each community."

This characterization is no longer true of our Party today. We have gone a long way toward freeing ourselves as a Party from sectarian isolation, although we must take note that some branches and individual members still have not freed themselves of old sectarian practices. But, as a Party in relation to the masses, we are already in many shops, unions, and communities an important factor influencing the life of those we are a part of.

Throughout Ohio, as elsewhere, factories are closing down, throwing tens of thousands out of work.

Simultaneously, there has been organized by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, the steel and rubber trusts and all their political flunkeys a tremendous attack upon all unions, but an attack aimed particularly at the C.I.O. In line with the Liberty League national attack on every progressive legislative measure, we find the relief situation in a crisis. Throughout this past year the State of Ohio has not given a penny for relief. Even the proposed state budget, which had already slashed relief appropriation by nearly two-thirds, was not passed, because it did not satisfy the hatchet gang led by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and the Illuminating Company.

DAVEY IS THE STOOGE OF GIRDLER

The people's liberty is menaced, not only by fascist, Black Legion, and local vigilante movements, but by Liberty League Governor Davey.

Attack after attack is made by Davey. This was seen in his use of armed troops to break the steel strike; in his consistent attack on every mild progressive proposal of Roosevelt; in his jailings, last year, of representatives of the unemployed, after drastically cutting relief and eventually taking the state out of relief altogether; in his reactionary censorship of films. In recent months he has dared to become bolder, launching vicious attacks upon the C.I.O. and upon the Roosevelt administration, supporting the Republican mayoralty candidate in Akron, mobilizing the National Guard against possible strike action in Akron, preventing the organization of the truck drivers, and presenting a bill to the special session

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of the legislature (which cannot care for 20 per cent of those already unemployed) designed to place upon the municipalities half the burden. Davey and his hatchet gang allies defeated every piece of progressive legislation in the legislature last session.

The immediate need is clear—developing those measures which will increase the consumptive powers of the masses. The Party has already popularized a national program to meet this situation.

The C.I.O. Ohio State Conference of November 30 adopted a state program which can unite all trade unions, the Workers Alliance, and all other forces in the state for a struggle against Davey and his reactionary Chamber of Commerce program. This struggle can be waged effectively if our Party stimulates the building of a broad movement in every locality behind this program. This program calls for conditional and amended support to the Joint Legislative Bill as against the Davey bill. The decisive thing, however, is the extent to which local mass movements of struggle are developed through joint action of the C.I.O.-A. F. of L.-Workers Alliance forces. Under no circumstances should we agree that the relief tasks be turned back to the municipalities.

It is important that we Communists, while actively participating in the organization of these local movements on the broadest possible basis, within such movements and independently, develop a more advanced program (even if only agitationally for the present) to include the nationalization of the banking system and of railroads, as well as the enforcement of the demand raised previously that where private monopolies, such as rubber, refuse to operate, the government should step in and run them for the benefit of the people.

AN EVALUATION OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Ohio labor and progressives scored important election victories and gained strength and experience for the 1938 election campaign. The experiences in Ohio show that wherever the masses were given an adequate channel for progressive political expression and especially where the labor and progressive forces were independently organized, the forces of progress and democracy, in common with the general trend throughout the country, were victorious, while the camp of reaction suffered defeat. Even where through political hesitation, inexperience and reliance on old party machines, the progressive forces were defeated, they mobilized a tremendous vote and definitely registered progress as an independent political force.

Definite, though incomplete, successes can be recorded in Cleveland, where eleven Labor's Non-Partisan League-endorsed Councilmen and two School Board members were elected; in Akron, where four L.N.P.L. Councilmen were elected and a fifth Councilman was defeated by only 47 votes; in Barberton and Lorain, where entire slates were elected; in Youngstown, where two L.N.P.L.-endorsed Councilmen were elected, as well as the mayor and one Councilman in Campbell; and in places where isolated victories were registered, as in Garfield Heights, Parma, and Toledo.

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In Akron* the best-organized L.N.P.L. was established and the campaign was conducted in the most aggressive fashion. The Communist Party played an active and influential role in helping to unite all progressives behind the L.N.P.L., despite the compromising and hesitating role of the mayoralty candidate and his Red-baiting attacks.

The outstanding electoral achievement of our Party was the Ward 30 campaign, where Comrade A. R. Onda, Cleveland County secretary, won in the primaries, and with the endorsement of L.N.P.L., the Independent Voters League, the C.I.O., some A. F. of L. locals, and other organizations, conducted an effective campaign, being defeated narrowly, by a vote of 6,833 to 6,452. This serves as an outstanding lesson for the general progressive movement and for our Party in so far as:

A. It demonstrates the possibility, through proper tactics, a united front program, and the conduct of the candidate, of uniting the decisive sections of the progressive population of the ward around an outstanding Communist leader as their progressive champion;

B. The organizing of a broad mass progressive movement represented in the ward campaign committee, as the local form of a People's Front movement, lays the solid foundation for a permanently organized People's Front movement as part of a city-wide movement;

C. It represents an uninterrupted orientation by our Party of concentration on Ward 30;

D. The excellent campaign, based on the absolute conviction of the possibility of winning, which radiates the spirit of victory to everyone else by the candidate himself.

Today, this progressive movement in the ward, if properly developed, guarantees victory in the next election and the foundation for a city-wide progressive movement in which the Communist Party must strengthen itself. While emphasizing that the outstanding lesson for the Communist Party was the progressive mass political character of the campaign, we must understand that the outstanding weaknesses of our Party participation were the inability to overcome successfully sectarian tendencies among certain comrades, especially among Yiddish-speaking sympathizers in the territory of Branch 1; and serious opportunist tendencies among certain comrades to hide the face of the Party and not to build the Party in such a favorable situation as the only guarantee for a solid People's Front movement. The main lessons to be derived from the experiences in Ohio are:

1. A prerequisite for a People's Front movement, and for the success of that movement in the electoral field, is the independent political organization of labor. This presupposes the building of Labor's Non-Partisan League into a broad federated body, uniting all unions, the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, and eventually finding means of broadening it out to include all other labor forces. Only in Akron was

* For a detailed characterization of the Akron municipal elections we refer the reader to the article, "The Akron Municipal Elections," by Comrade James Keller, in *The Communist,* January, 1938—*The Editors.*

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that accomplished, and precisely there was the best campaign conducted and partial results were achieved. In Toledo, there were tendencies of following the wrong tactics of Detroit and of trying to have the auto union, or the C.I.O. as a union, substitute for the independent political organization of labor—not to speak of the neglect of the middle class. In Cleveland, Labor's Non-Partisan League did not and has not yet become what it must be—a powerful political instrument of all, or the great majority of, the labor movement. In Canton, it was even believed that labor and the labor connections of the L.N.P.L. candidate should be hidden—with the resulting decisive defeat.

2. The People's Front must unite all progressive forces. This means uniting labor and its independent political organization (Labor's Non-Partisan League) with other progressive forces, especially the middle class and the Negro people. The importance of winning the middle-class support was definitely underestimated in all these Ohio experiences.

3. The results nationally showed the bankruptcy of the Red scare wherever it was met boldly with the real issue of the campaign. However, where the progressive candidates tried to dodge the issue or, worse still, as in the case of Patterson in Akron, engaged in some Red-baiting themselves in an endeavor to prove they were not Reds, the entire progressive campaign was weakened; in the case of Akron, that tactic, more than anything else, defeated Patterson. In this connection, it is important to emphasize that the masses in Akron took up the Party slogans. The trade union leaders gave the kind of answers Patterson should have given as a candidate. In Ward 30, where the cry "Communism" was raised as the issue by the reactionaries, where thousands of postcards and leaflets dealing with that issue were sent to the voters, the elections results showed the ineffectuality of this demagogy.

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF OUR PARTY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMPAIGN

A. There was a noticeable failure (except in Akron) to popularize the independent Communist Party position in support of the L.N.P.L. ticket and for the unity of all progressives against the reactionary front.

B. Certain Party members were given to hiding the face of the Party in Ward 30 on election day.

C. There was no substantial growth of the Communist Party during the election campaign; in those places where there was the broadest campaign particularly weak recruiting was to be seen.

D. The independent Communist Party candidates, where no L.N.P.L. or progressive ticket emerged, were inadequately brought forward. Only Cleveland and Canton ran Communist Party candidates.

These rich experiences must arm us politically to begin *now* to prepare for the 1938 Gubernatorial and Congressional elections.

DAVEY MUST BE DEFEATED

We must begin our election campaign *now* under the slogan: *Davey must be defeated!* It is imperative that we influence the labor and progressive movement to begin their campaign *now* under the same slogan.

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Some comrades may ask: How does it come that, with Davey adopting so reactionary a policy, with Davey such a faithful Liberty League representative, the Republican Party and its candidate Bricker may receive the main backing of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce and all other reactionary forces and newspapers of the state? This can only be explained by understanding that the Republican Party in Ohio, as nationally, represents the chief political expression of reaction. While Davey is trying to outdo the Liberty League in proving how fascist-minded he is, he is connected with a party which still has mass connections with large strata of workers and of the urban middle class, which, in the main, is progressive-minded.

This reflects itself inside the Democratic Party in a vicious struggle between the reactionary Liberty League Democrats, like Davey, Yoder, and Sweeney, against those with progressive tendencies who have not yet fully emerged as far as leadership is concerned. It is clear that with Davey's present activities the reactionaries and their newspaper have no fault to find (witness the editorials and the tie-up between Republic Steel and Davey's New York speech). But since the election laws are such that Davey cannot run also in the Republican primaries, we can expect the chief support in the final elections to go to Bricker.

However, it is quite possible that in the primaries, where the reactionaries have nothing to fear as regards struggle in the Republican primaries, all the Chamber of Commerce and Republic Steel reactionary forces will give full support to Davey in the Democratic primaries and in this way feel secure, regardless of who is elected. We must be alert to these developments and direct the attention of the mass progressive movement to defeating Davey in the primaries.

BUILD L.N.P.L. NOW

The decisive thing is to build up *now* in every county, on a statewide scale, a People's Front movement. The first prerequisite for this is a solid Labor's Non-Partisan League organization.

In the course of the campaign this Labor's Non-Partisan League may become an organized part of a still broader electoral movement to defeat Davey (just as the American Labor Party was an organized part of a much broader movement in New York City to defeat reaction) behind some gubernatorial candidate on a minimum program. The decisive thing, however, in such a development is that labor and the progressives will be organized independently and must run their own Congressional and state legislative candidates wherever possible.

The question is also being raised: What if Davey wins the Democratic primaries, and it becomes a matter of Davey and Bricker—what then? In our opinion such type of speculation is dangerous and becomes a serious demobilizing factor among the masses. It misdirects from the main effort—to organize Labor's Non-Partisan League, which, in alliance with other forces, can guarantee the defeat of Davey in the Democratic primaries. With Davey defeated, the mass movement must then march on to the defeat of Bricker and the organized Republican forces. In this connection

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let us be clear that no C.I.O. gubernatorial candidate, not even a labor gubernatorial candidate, can alone defeat Davey and reaction.

From this it becomes clear that from every point of view the chief immediate task is to organize Labor's Non-Partisan League in every locality. This task demands that special attention be given to the development of a close alliance of the developing progressive movement among the Negro people, who are today being approached by Davey under false and demagogic slogans. It is also necessary that this growing movement of Labor's Non-Partisan League, in alliance with the Farmers' Union, etc., develop a powerful statewide movement around a legislative program. This can become a real effective preliminary election campaign.

The immediate tasks of our Party are:

1. To start an intensive propaganda campaign in its own name, through leaflets, radio talks, meetings, etc., to *defeat Davey,* simultaneously pointing out the lessons of the recent municipal elections regarding the absolute need of independent labor political organization—through L.N.P.L.

2. To influence all trade union leaders and other progressive leaders to take the initiative for calling a statewide convention of L.N.P.L. as early as national considerations warrant, and to lay the foundation locally at once;

3. To develop united front bodies and actions behind a statewide legislative program through L.N.P.L., the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., and all other progressive organizations;

4. To encourage the organizing of all progressive forces within the Democratic Party in struggle against Davey on the basis of a legislative program worked out by all participating organizations.

OUR PARTY MUST BE BUILT

Our central problem is to arouse the entire Party to a full understanding that the growing progressive movement of Ohio cannot move forward, cannot rise to higher levels, cannot meet and solve the manifold and difficult problems, unless the Communist Party is substantially increased in membership in every locality, in every shop, in every union, and particularly among certain key strata of the population—the Negro people; important industries, such as steel, auto, rubber, and marine; and especially in the city of Cleveland.

Since the Ohio State Convention of the Party, held in December, our perspectives are being borne out.

Labor's Non-Partisan League has called a state convention for March 19-20 to be preceded by county conventions. While one could hope for greater clarity of program and quicker tempo in organization activity, the decisive thing is that the organization is in motion. We must recognize the need that this growing Labor's Non-Partisan League movement have the broadest character, uniting *all* unions, and establishing alliances with all other progressive forces. The Communists within L.N.P.L. will render their unqualified support to the *Ohio L.N.P.L.* and its leadership, giving special attention in the coming months to the following tasks:

1. Emphasis must be put on the need for L.N.P.L. collaboration with

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all other forces, including those hesitant elements within the Democratic Party who desire to be anti-Davey. In this connection, it is important for L.N.P.L. to *help decide* who will be the candidate to defeat Davey in the primaries and then the Republican Bricker in the finals and to work out the best possible progressive platform around which to rally all progressives.

2. It must be made clear that in Ohio, Davey cannot be defeated, unless the trade union movement is united on this objective. Today Davey is making overtures to the Ohio Federation of Labor leadership. Labor's Non-Partisan League must work overtime to unite and represent the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and railroad unions in Ohio. This will make easier the winning of the rural poor farmer and middle class population, in whose areas Davey has strength. Wherever full incorporation into L.N.P.L. is not achieved, political movements of dissenting A. F. of L. unions and leaders should be established with parallel aims as those of the L.N.P.L.

3. The organization work in all 88 counties throughout the state must be intensified. Today, we are on the threshold of a new conscious advance of the working class of Ohio, providing the opportunity is not muffed. Such advances are never made without difficulties and obstacles. Today there is being launched, supplementary to the layoffs and the sit-down strike of the monopolies, a new vicious attack upon the Communists, in which the reactionaries are making full use of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, and their literary scavengers like Stolberg. This concerted drive is designed to separate us from the masses and thus prevent them from marching forward to a higher level of struggle and class consciousness. Our ranks must stand firm. We must avoid two extremes—one, of resorting to acts of spontaneity and being provoked to fight on the enemies' ground and terms; the other, of thinking that we can get along by capitulation to the attacks of the reactionaries.

To take full advantage of these possibilities, we must never forget to propagate our Party's socialist program, while actively participating in the great mass movements to defeat the layoffs and build L.N.P.L. This means a thousand-fold greater Party propaganda and agitation.

Since our convention, we fulfilled our objective of 500 new members in six weeks. The tempo can be still further increased, providing we consolidate our gains, intensify our propaganda and agitation, while contributing toward the building of a People's Front movement in Ohio.

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